

Six Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus at Columbia University

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Abstract

Edition of six fragmentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, previously described in *P.Oxy.* 3.534, 536-539, and *P.Oxy.* 6.950. The dates range from the second to the third century CE.

1. *Homer, Iliad 1.1-15*

columbia.apis.p1328 H x W = 12.6 x 18.8 cm early III CE
P.Oxy. 3.534 *descr.*; MP³ 559; LDAB 1989; Allen no. 0109; West no. 0109¹

The Egypt Exploration Society gave this papyrus, described in *P.Oxy.* 3 (1903), to Columbia University in 1908.² The fragment carries part of a single column containing the first 15 lines of the first book of the *Iliad* (recto; the verso is blank). Part of the bottom margin is preserved (to a depth of 2 cm at most), suggesting that the entire column was a mere 15 lines; but as Grenfell and Hunt noted, first columns are often short. The right-hand intercolumnar space is preserved up to 1.7 cm. The width of this first column can be calculated to have been roughly 13.5 cm, or slightly more than its 10.8 cm height.³ The

¹ The texts of the six papyri in this article have been collated with the editions of T.W. Allen, *Homeric Ilias* (Oxford 1931), and M.L. West, *Homeric Ilias* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1998).

² *P.Oxy.* 5, p. 317. The note on custodial history found in APIS ("Purchased by Columbia University from M. Nahman through H.I. Bell, in Bell's inventory") is due to a confusion over the inventory number assigned to it there, 202c (4), which refers to a "packet of fragments" purchased through H.I. Bell in 1924 (which originated from the acquisitions of Dr. David Askren, not M. Nahman).

³ This width falls within the average range of column widths for hexameter verses, 11-14 cm according to W.A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) 116.

opulent layout and elegant hand of this papyrus give the impression that it was part of a very fine bookroll.

The text is written along the fibres in a formal Severe or Mixed Style in strict bilinearity, with υ, ρ, and ψ dipping below the bottom line. The hand is slow, lacking any cursive elements, and is especially remarkable for its luxurious spacing between letters, which often amounts to between a half letter-width and a full letter-width. The hand inclines slightly to the right and shows the variation in letter size that is characteristic of the Severe Style (e.g. narrow c, ε, θ versus broad η, μ, ν). Shading and other decoration are generally avoided. This papyrus compares well with *P.Oxy.* 47.3323 (*Iliad* 15), as well as *P.Oxy.* 48.3374 (Herodotus) and *P.Oxy.* 69.4731 (Isocrates), although the hand of our papyrus is less inclined and more formal than these latter two examples (see especially α). As *P.Oxy.* 47.3323 is dated to II/III CE, *P.Oxy.* 48.3374 to late II/early III CE, and *P.Oxy.* 69.4731 to the first half of III CE, a reasonable estimated date for this hand would be early III CE.

The papyrus is in bad condition, rendering autopsy indispensable. Much of the ink has been worn away, with the remaining script quite faded. Lectional signs are written with more than one pen (compare the difference, e.g., between the acute accent and the elision marked after μυρῖ in line 2). High dots mark the ends of lines at 10, 13, and 15. Although there is one spelling mistake, the text follows the vulgate.

] Πηληιαδεω Αχιλ[ηος
] μυρῖ' αχαιοc αλγε εθη[κε
 ιφθιμου]c [ψ]υχac Αιδι προιαψ[εν
] αυτους δε ε[λ]ω[ρι]α τευχε κ[υνεεciv
 5 οιωνοic]ι τε πα[ci Διοc] δ [ετε]λει[ετο
 δ]η [τα] π[ρωτα] δ[ιαστ]η[την] ερισ[αν]τε
] α[ναξ] ανδ[ρ]ων κα[ι διο]c Αχ[ιλλεuc
 c]φω[ε] θεωψ [ερ]ιδ[ι ξ]υ[νηκε
 κ]α[ι Δ]ιοc υ[ιο]c ο γα[ρ β]ασ[ιλη]ι χολ[ωθ]ειc
 10] ω[ρ]c κ[ακην] ολ[εκοντο] δε λαο]ι·
 Χρυ[ς]ην] ητιμ[αcε]ν αρητ[ηρα
] γαρ ηλθε θοac [επι] νηac Αχα[ι]ων
 λυομενο]c τε θυγατρα [φερ]ων [τ'] απερειc[ι' α]ποινα·
] ε[χ]ων [ε]ν χε[ρci]ν εκηβολου Απολλωνοc
 15] αν[α] κη[πι]τρω[ι] και ελιcετο πανταc Αχαιουc·
 margin

2 αχαιῶς is a spelling mistake for Ἀχαιοῖς. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* 1:199-201 for οἱ > ο: e.g. ὅκου for οἴκου in *P.Mich.* 276.7 and ἐμό for ἐμοί in *P.Merton* 112.13.

15 Grenfell and Hunt draw attention to the form ἐλίσσεται in their description of this papyrus. Although this is the vulgate reading, West and Allen both print λίσσεται, **which Aristarchus preferred (ad 1.374). λίσσεται also appears in *P.Osl.* 2.12 (glosses on *Iliad* 1.5-24, II CE), and in two early codices (West A and T of the 10th and 11th centuries respectively). ἐλίσσεται, which is printed in van Thiel's 1996 edition, reflects the vulgate and is supported by five other papyri which are reported in West's edition (cf. West, *CR* 48 [1998] 1).**

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2. *Homer, Iliad 1.127-147*

columbia.apis.p364

H x W = 16.4 x 3.3 cm

III CE

P.Oxy. 3.536.v *descr.*; MP³ 579; *LDAB* 1996; Allen no. 0118; West no. 0118

The papyrus is a long, slender piece containing approximately the last third of each verse. The recto side of the roll was used for an account, which is unpublished. The papyrus is dark brown in color and written in black ink. Broken on three sides, it has many lacunae, and in places the top layer has been stripped away. The largest internal lacunae occur in lines 131-133, from which point the papyrus is largely intact until lines 146-147. The bottom margin measures approximately 2.5 cm and, while jagged, appears to be complete at its deepest point. The width of the column may be calculated as ca 11.5 cm, which falls well within the averages for rolls of hexameter texts given by Johnson.⁴ The column and roll heights are indeterminate. A thin strip of papyrus with vertical fibres is tenuously attached to the left side and extends on a pronounced angle to the left. This carries bits of ink that seem to physically align with lines 131-133. However, a tear at the base of the strip shows that it may have been reattached to the main fragment incorrectly. In fact, the ink traces best fit lines 128-130: the lowest ink trace appears to be the right half of a π, likely corresponding to the π of προεφῆ in line 130. Directly above this would be the third ε of εντειχεον in line 129, and still higher up on the strip the ι in αποτειχομεν in line 128. This reconstruction is reflected in the transcript below.

The text is written in a somewhat flattened, slightly sloping Severe Style across the fibers (Turner, *GMAW*², pp. 26-27). All letters are written separately.

⁴ Johnson (n. 3) 115-119.

The ε, ο, θ, and c are all small, oval, and narrow. The strokes of ε are angular and ο is generally much smaller than other letters. The scribe writes κ, λ, η, μ and α wider than the other letters. The writing is bilinear, with only τ, ρ, υ and φ extending beyond the notional parallels. The space between lines increases towards the bottom of the papyrus.

The hand can be dated to the III CE, and, most likely, within the first half of that century based on comparanda, which include Roberts, *GLH* 20a (*P.Oxy* 7.1016, Plato, *Phaedrus*, III CE), 21a (*P.Oxy* 2.223, Homer, *Iliad*, II/III CE), 19b (*P.Oxy.* 16.2098, Herodotus, II/III CE); *GMAW*², nos. 27 (*P.Oxy* 27.2452, Sophocles, *Theseus*, late II CE) and 50 (*P.Oxy* 7.1015, panegyric poem, III CE).

Accents, breathing marks, one example of inorganic diaeresis, and elision marks were written sporadically and in a different hand from that of the text. These marks were made with thinner strokes than the other letters. The acute accent is characterized by a particularly long and thin stroke. In some cases, such as in lines 140 and 142, the ink of these marks appears to be much lighter than that of the main text. Line 147 contains a dot to mark a full stop. An accentuation error occurs at line 128, where a circumflex is used although a smooth breathing and acute are expected. Elision occurs regularly and is correctly indicated except for line 142, where the mark is placed before the elided word. The text has no corrections or variants and there is only one mistake, in line 133, which may be due to the fact that words starting with αυ are located on either side of the missing word, εμ. Throughout the text the name of Odysseus is written with two *sigmas*, which causes an error in meter at line 138, where the scribe may have added the extra *sigma* by confusing Ὀδυσῆος with Ὀδυσσεύς. In all instances, including lines 133-134 and 139, which Aristarchus athetized, the text conforms to the vulgate tradition. Only two other papyri contain the same portion of text as this one: P.Duke inv. 970 (J. London, "Homer, *Iliad* I 127-138 from the Duke Papyrus Collection," *ZPE* 141 [2002] 71-73) overlaps at lines 127-138, and *P.Köln* 1.21 at lines 129-146. In both these texts the εμ of line 133 missing in the Columbia papyrus is included.

- - - - -

] αυ[ταρ

αποτε]ι[κομε]ν αι κε[

ευτειχ]ε[ον εξ]αλαπ[αξαι

130] π[ροσεφη κρ]είων Αγ[αμεμνων

θε]οε[ικ]ελ Αχι[λλευ

παρελευσε]αι [ο]υδέ μ[ε

] αυ[ταρ αυ]τωc

] τηγδ' απ[οδουναι

135 με]γα[θ]υμοι Αχα[αιοι

α]γτάξιον [
 κ]εγ αυτος ἔλ[ωμαι
 Ο]δυσεῖος
 140 κεχολωσεται ὃν κεν ἴ[κωμαι
 μεταφρα]σόμεθα κ[αι
 ερυσσο]μεν εις αλ[α
] ἐς δ' εκα[τομβην
 Χρυσηιδ]α καλλιπ[αρηον
 βου]ληφόρος ἐ[στω
 145 Οδυσε]ειν
 εκπαγ]λότατ' ανδ[ρων
] ρέξας
 margin

128-130 αῖ for αἰ. For the placing of the strip of papyrus that on the image appears to form the left boundary of a lacuna at 131-133 and bends to the left, see the introduction.

133 For the omission of ἐμ' see the introduction.

133-134 Ath. Ar.

139 Ath. Ar.

142 ἐς δ' εκατομβην for ἐς δ' εκατομβην.

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3. *Homer, Iliad 1.215-220, 250-266*

columbia.apis.p366

H x W = 9.0 x 8.1 cm

II CE

P.Oxy. 3.537 *descr.*; MP³ 589; *LDAB* 1998; Allen no. 0122; West no. 0122

This fragment of *Iliad* 1 contains writing from two columns that exist on two adjacent κολλήματα. An attached strip descends vertically to roughly halfway down the papyrus, and this strip contains an appreciable portion of the writing of Col. 1. A substantial part of the lower-left corner of the papyrus is missing, and a rip is also present in the same area. The κόλλησις, which roughly coincides with the beginnings of the lines in Col. 2, shows some damage but is intact after line 260. At about 1.6 cm to the right of the κόλλησις there is a partial rip that descends through the upper layer of the papyrus from the top edge to line 254. This does not disturb any letters because the width of the area

removed from the surface is less than 0.1 cm. After line 254 the edges of the rip join to form a seam, and below this line none of the material of the upper layer is missing, but this seam still complicates the reading of line 263 by possibly removing a letter (see note). The letters of Col. 2 are often obscured by discoloration. The blurring is most extreme at about line 258. The majority of the discoloration occurs in a diagonal progression towards the upper-left from the lower-right corner.

Although only a limited amount of text is preserved, there are several significant discrepancies between the writing in the two columns. Bilinearity is better maintained in Col. 1 than in Col. 2. Letter height varies more in Col. 2, as does interlinear space. Line 217, which extends from the left edge almost to the κόλλησις, indicates that the lines in Col. 1 were straighter than those in Col. 2. Also, certain letters, such as α, ε, and ρ, appear differently in Col. 1 than they do in Col. 2. In the case of α, only in Col. 1 does the top of the belly touch the highest portion of the right side of the letter, and the entire character is more angular. In Col. 1, ε displays a straighter vertical stroke, and the example in line 217 looks to be made with four strokes while those in Col. 2 appear to consist of two strokes.

Although some similarities, such as an almost common τ and the existence of serifs on each column's ν, prevent the immediate conclusion that two hands are at work, the discrepancies are too many to ignore. The differences mentioned above concerning the appearance of individual letters and of the text in the two columns combine to make the writing of Col. 1 more attractive than that of Col. 2. The more regular letters in Col. 1 also suggest a more practiced hand. All of the copying mistakes, both orthographical and in terms of punctuation, appear in Col. 1, as do diacritical marks and apostrophes. These considerations perhaps suggest that Col. 1 was written by a teacher, and Col. 2 by a student.

The content suggests that this is a school exercise, as *Iliad* 1 was copied extensively in ancient schools.⁵ This would also account for the writing on the attached strip in Col 1, as schools often made use of different areas of the papyri and of papyri of varying – in this case patched – quality. The *paragraphoi*, which regularly appear in school exercises, offer no obstacle to this view, and the apostrophes, which are more common in school exercises than in literary texts not linked to schools, also support it. Though the student's hand is not quite as attractive as the teacher's, he still produces letters in a way very similar to that of his instructor.

⁵ R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 140-149, 81-84.

The text exhibits diacritical marks, apostrophes, and *paragraphoi*. The inclusion of these reading aids is quite thorough; in fact the only such marks printed in West's modern edition that do not appear on this papyrus are the diaeresis in $\kappa\omega\iota\nu$ in line 257 and the apostrophe in $\pi\omicron\tau'$ in 260. Apostrophes and diaereses appear for the most part to be the work of the writer of the text. There is a *paragraphos* between lines 253 and 254, and also one between 261 and 262. The first marks the beginning of Nestor's speech. The second marks the point in that speech at which he stops voicing disapproval of the actions of Achilles and Agamemnon and instead lists positive examples of past heroes. Perhaps this *paragraphos* is meant to accentuate a perceived change in Nestor's tone, and thereby shows the student's engagement with the content of the text. Line 265 is omitted from the text. This line, which is found as line 182 in the Hesiodic *Scutum* as well, is also omitted in the vulgate tradition, but it is mentioned by Dio Chrysostom (57.1) and by Pausanias (10.29.10).

The hands can both be classified as a combination of a mixed and a round style as per Turner's descriptions and classifications of writing styles (Turner, *GMAW*², pp. 23-25). A set of four comparanda, *P.Oxy.* 18.2164 (Aeschylus, *Xantriai*, II CE), *P.Oxy.* 18.2178 (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, II CE), *P.Oxy.* 20.2249 (Aeschylus, II CE), and *P.Oxy.* 56.3836 (Achilles Tatius, II CE), all exhibiting characteristics of the informal round style, helps date these two hands to the second century CE, and probably to the first half of that century. In the first comparandum \omicron is consistent with those of the two hands of the *Iliad* papyrus.⁶ The formation of β is especially similar between the second Aeschylus fragment listed and Col. 2 of the *Iliad* papyrus. μ , ν , and \omicron in the third comparandum are like those characters in Col. 1 of the *Iliad* fragment, and α , η , and π resemble the same letters in Col. 2. In the last comparandum, μ is similar to the same letter in Col. 1, ν resembles those in both columns, and λ , π , and υ are like those in Col. 2 of our papyrus. The arrangement of the writing is also consistent among the comparanda and both columns of our papyrus, as the size of the letters relative to the interlinear space is roughly standard, and in no case have the letters been written too closely.

The texts of 12 other *Iliad* papyrus fragments overlap with this papyrus (Π ⁵⁶, Π ¹¹², Π ¹²³, Π ²⁷⁸, Π ³⁵⁴, Π ³⁷⁶⁻³⁷⁸, Π ⁵²⁹⁻⁵³¹, and Π ⁶⁶³ West).

⁶ In all cases it is not as tiny as those of Ptolemaic texts, but is smaller than are adjacent letters. Cf. Turner, *GMAW*², nos. 40 and 53.

Col. 1

215

 Αχιλλε]υς
 ειρυσσαςθ]αι
 ω]ς γαρ αμεινον
 εκλυο]γ αυτου
 βαρει]αν
 απιθη]ζε

220

Col. 2

250

 δυ]ο μ[εν
 εφθιαθ' οι οι προ]θεν
 εν Πυλω ηγαθε[η
 ο cφιν εϋ φρονε[ων
 ω ποποι' η μεγα [
 255 η κεν γηθησαι Π[ριαμος
 α]λλοι τε Τρωες [
 [ει] cφωιν ταδε [
 οι περι μεν βουλ[ην
 αλλα πιθεcθ' αμ[φω
 260 ηδη γα[ρ] ποτ εγ[ω
 ανδραcιν ωμ[ιληcα
 ου γαρ πω τοιους ιδ[ον
 ριον Πε[ι]ριθοον [
 264 Καινεα τ' Εξαδ[ιον
 266 καρτιcτοι δη [

254 Beginning with line 254, it appears as though a pulling of part of the papyrus upwards has raised the second half of the lines in the right column relative to the first half. Perhaps this movement concurrently caused the rip.

262 ω of πω ligatures with the horizontal stroke of the following τ.

263 Πε[ι]ριθοον: it seems likely that ι was written, as there is space in which the letter could have been formed. However, Περιθοον is also possible, as the discoloration and structural imperfection of the papyrus make certainty impossible.

4. *Homer, Iliad 1.273-297, 318-342*

columbia.apis.p367

H x W = 10.8 x 10.0 cm

II/III CE

P.Oxy. 3.538 *descr.*; MP³ 595; *LDAB* 1994; Allen no. 61; West no. 61

The papyrus preserves the upper part of a leaf of a codex, with the beginnings of lines 273-297 written across the fibers on the recto (↓) and the ends of lines 318-342 written along the fibers on the verso (→). The papyrus is damaged on all sides, particularly at the bottom, where only about 30% of the original text width remains. On the recto, about 0.6 cm of the upper margin and about 1.7 cm of left intercolumnar space remain. On the verso, about 0.5 cm of the upper margin and about 1.0 cm of right intercolumnar space are extant. In color the papyrus is similar to brown corrugated board. The ink of the text is black, while the accents and other diacritical marks are either black or dark grey (see further below). On autopsy, the surface of both sides of the papyrus appears thick and rough. There are many exposed fibers and several areas are so abraded that the text has been completely rubbed away.

Since each side contains 25 lines of text, and there is a lacuna of 20 lines in the received text at the bottom of the recto (↓) to the top of the verso (→), each column held 45 lines of text. If the first 45 lines of Book 1 were written on the first ↓ side, the second 45 on the → side and so on, then lines 273-315 (recto) would fall on the fourth ↓ page and lines 318-360 (verso) on the fourth → page of the codex.⁷ As the longest line is about 65% complete and the beginnings and ends of lines survive as well as parts of intercolumnar spaces, the width of the original page can be calculated to have been at least 15.3 cm. The minimum height of the original page would have been about 19.5 cm, including 0.6 cm of upper margin.

The writing is in small, upright uncials that are regularly spaced and appear to have been written slowly. The hand is bilinear, with ρ, υ, and φ extending below the line. The letters η, μ, ν, and π are somewhat broader than ε, θ, ο, and c. In some places, the ο is very small and round, while ε and θ are oval-shaped. The c tends to slope downward to the right. There are serifs on several letters: the top left of η, the descender of ρ, the bases and tops of χ, and the top of ν. All of these features are characteristic of the Formal Mixed or Severe style (Turner, *GMAW*², pp. 26-27). Comparison with Turner, *GMAW*², nos. 27 and 34, and Roberts, *GLH*, nos. 15c, 17b, 19b, and 20a suggests a date for this papyrus in late II or early III CE. Turner dates it to III CE.⁸

⁷ See E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 43-69, for a fuller explanation.

⁸ Turner (n. 7) 106.

The fragment appears to have a *paragraphos* just above line 286 to mark the beginning of a speech. An obliquely slanted s-shaped mark, which looks like a variant of the slash (/), hangs from this sign possibly to denote a point of interest in the text.⁹ The bottom left-hand side of another slash, which is straighter than the first, seems to be visible just beneath a hole in the papyrus in the intercolumnar space above line 293. This sign may also be a *paragraphos* marking the beginning of a speech at line 293.

The letters $\theta\epsilon\lambda$ are written in dark grey ink at an angle in the left margin between lines 287 and 288 in smaller, more rounded, and less formal uncials than those found in the main text. This marginal note, perhaps used in combination with the s-shaped mark noted above, may be a gloss inserted by a second scribe to explain the Homeric form $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega$ or perhaps to highlight the fact that forms of $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega$ appear in both of these lines and then, according to a reading favored by Zenodotus, again in line 299.

A large χ , written in lighter ink and with a narrower stroke than the letters found in the papyrus, appears in the lower left intercolumnar space of Col. 1 between lines 293 and 294. The significance of this character here is difficult to determine since χ seems to occur rarely as a marginal sign in Homeric papyri.¹⁰ There is nothing in the extant text that suggests the need for such a sign at lines 293-94. Conceivably it could mark some feature of the lost text at the end of one of the lines or it could have been placed to draw attention to line 296, which was athetized by Aristarchus.

The text itself is replete with diacritical marks, including apostrophes (lines 275, 281, 285 and elsewhere; an apostrophe does not appear where expected at $\lambda\iota[c]co\mu$ in line 283 and $\alpha\lambda\lambda$ in line 335), high dots (lines 326, 330, 331, and elsewhere), breathing marks (lines 276, 277, 284, and elsewhere), grave and acute accents, and circumflexes. In many places, accent marks are clearly visible where the underlying letter is not, as in $\pi\rho[\tilde{\omega}\tau]\alpha$ in line 276. There are also several diaereses, both organic and inorganic. The original scribe seems to have added some of these lectional signs since the color of the ink and the width, shape, and style of the strokes are consistent with those of the main text. A later hand undoubtedly contributed most of the other marks since the ink is grey and the strokes are generally thicker. Accents are more often than not either placed correctly or in keeping with practices found in other papyri.

Deletions are made by an oblique stroke through the letter, as in $\pi[\epsilon][\theta\epsilon\kappa\theta\epsilon]$ in line 274 (phonological error) and $[A]\chi\iota[\lambda]\lambda\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ at line 322 (dittographic

⁹ See K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Brussels 1992) 17, for a description of the functions of the slash and her n. 44 for variants of the slash.

¹⁰ McNamee (n. 9) 19.

mistake). A different hand also inserted missing text (apparently with accentuation) at line 273 (‘μέυ’). *Iota* adscript either cannot be observed where expected due to damage to the papyrus (Αχιλ[λ]ῆ[ι] in 283; [Αχι]λ[η] in 319), or was added by a second hand (μελαίνη in 329).

The text follows the vulgate, but provides three variant readings: ὁ δε at line 281, υπαίτιοι at line 335, and [θ]υλεί at line 342, which are discussed in the commentary. There are four minor divergences from the vulgate, two of which are phonological in nature: ει is used for ι (θ]ειν’ for θῖν’ in line 327 and Βρεικηῖδος in line 336). The third departure from the vulgate is a morphological mistake (ἱκέσθα[ν] for ἱκέσθη[ν] in line 328). The fourth is an orthographical error (ci for oi in line 291).

Despite the carefully executed handwriting, the abundance of punctuation and accents (by both the original and a later hand), the use of critical signs, and mistakes that are either itacistic or result from a common confusion between two verb forms all suggest that this codex was used as a school text.

Twenty-four papyri overlap with this fragment (Π¹, Π⁵⁶, Π¹²³, Π¹²⁵⁻¹²⁷, Π²⁷⁸, Π³⁴⁴, Π³⁷⁷⁻³⁸¹, Π^{456b}, Π⁵³², Π⁷⁶¹, Π⁷⁶³, Π⁷⁶⁵⁻⁷⁶⁷, and Π⁷⁶⁹⁻⁷⁷² West).

Recto

margin

- με]ν ‘μέυ’ βουλέωγ ξ[υ]νι[εν]
] πεῖθεσθε και ὕμ[μεσ
 275 μητ]ε cὺ τόνδ’ αγαθός [
 ε]α ὥς οἱ πρ[ῶτ]α δός[αν
 μητ]ε cὺ Πη[λ]εΐδῃ θε[λ’
 αντ]ιβίην επειὶ οὐ πο[θ
 σκη]πτ[ὸ]ν[χ]οc βασιλε[υc
 280 δ]ε cὺ κ[ά]ρτερός ε[cci
 αλ]λ’ ὁ δε φέρτερός ε[ctιν
 [Ατρ]εΐδῃ cυ δε π[ᾶ]ν[ε] τ[εον
 λι]c]coμ Αχιλ[λ]ῆ[ι] μεθέ[μεν
 ἔρκoc Αχαιοῖ]c]ιν πέλε[ται
 285 τογδ’ απαμειβ[ό]μεν[oc
 — να]i] δη ταῦτά γε [π]άν[τα
 θελ ἀλλ’ ὁδ’ ἀνήρ εθέ[λε]i περι [
 πάντων μεν κ[ρα]τέει[ν
 [π]ᾶci δε cημα[ίν]ειν ἅ τι[ν
 290 [ε]i δέ μιν α[ι]χμητήν [ε]θ[ε]c[αν
 τόννεκά ci προθέουσιν [ονει]δεα [
 — το]ν δ’ ἄρ’ ὑποβλήδη[ν ημ]εῖ[βε]τ[ο
 χ η γάρ κεν δειλός τε κ[αι ο]ντ[ι]δα[νοc

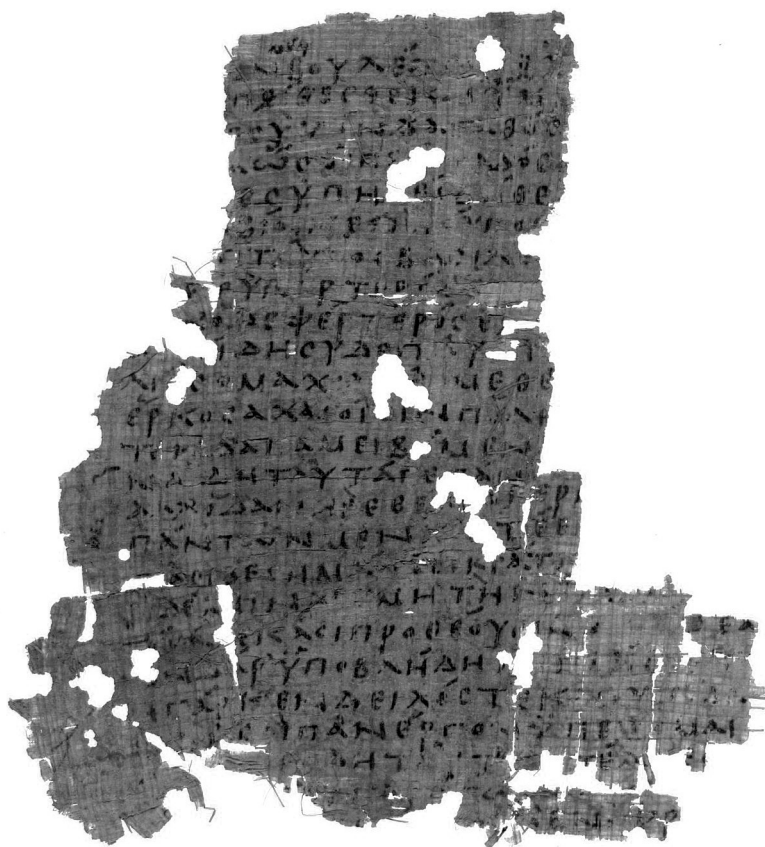
295 ε[ι] δη ροὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπειξομαι [
 α[λλοι]ς[ιν] δη τᾶντ' [επι]τέλ[λ]ε[ο
] οὐ γὰρ ἔγω [
] δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ
 - - - - -

Verso

 margin
 κατ]α [στρ]ατόν [
 ε]πιπείλης' [Αχι]λ[ηι
 320 Ε]υρυβάτ[ην προ]ξεξ[ιπε
 οτ]ρηρῶ θε[ρ]απ[ον]τε
 Πηληι]άδεω [Α]χιλλ]λῆος
 Βρι]χη[ίδ]α κ[α]λλιπάρη[ον
 traces
 325]κ[αι ριγιο]ν ἔ[στ]αι
]δ' ε[πι] μυθον ἔτελ[λε]
 θ]ειν' ἄλός ἀτρυγε[τοιο
 κλίσια]ς και ν[η]ας ἱκέσθ[α]ν]
] καὶ ν[η]ι μελαίνηι
 330 ιδω]ν γήθησεν Αχιλλευσ
 αι]δομένω βασιλεα
 προ]ξε[φ]ω[ν]εον ουδ' ἐρέοντο·
 φρ]ε[ς] [ί φ]ώνησέν τε·
 ηδ]ε και ἀνδρων·
 335] υπαίτιοι αλλ Αγαμέμνων
] Βρεισηΐδος εἵνεκα κούρης·
 διογενε]ς Π[ατρ]όκ[λε]ς ἐξαγε κούρην
 αγ]ειν τω δ' α[υ]τῷ μάρτυροι ἔστων
 μακ]άρω[ν] πρόσ τε θνητῶν αγ[θ]ρώπων
 340 βασιληο]ς ἄπη[ν]έρος εἰ π[ο]τε δ' αὐ[τε]
 α]ξι[κεα λ]οιγὸν ἀμυ[ναι
 ολ]οιῆσι φ[ρ]εσὶ [θ]υει·
 - - - - -

273 `μέν': μεν Monro-Allen: μεο West.

277 Πη[λ]εϊδῆ θε[λ']: there is clearly an acute accent over the η, which supports the reading Πη[λ]εϊδῆθε[λ'] (i.e., -δη ἔθελ') found in Ar. and Hd. The other major mss. have either Πηλειδ' ἦθελ' or Πηλειδ' θέλ'. Πηλειδη θέλ' avoids hiatus, but θέλω is not found in Homer.

*Recto*

281 ὁ δε: ὅ δε: Nic 56 377 t Ω*: ὅ γε Z F Y. There is strong ms. support for both readings, but I prefer ὅ γε on the ground that ἀλλ' ὅ γε occurs far more frequently at the beginning of a line than ἀλλ' ὅδε and makes better sense in this context. Monro-Allen prints ὅ γε, West ὅδε.

287 θελ: on this marginal addition, see the introduction and the note on verse 277.

293 For the letter in the margin see introduction.

296 Ath. Ar.

335 υπάιτιοι: ἐπαίτιοι all mss. and all papyri except Π⁷⁷¹ (an unpublished fragment from Oxyrhynchus). The descender and bottom half of the v-shaped

top of the υ are clearly visible on the papyrus. The adjective ύπαίτιος is not found elsewhere in Homer, while έπαίτιος is a hapax in Homer.

337 Π[ατρ]όκ[λε]ς, Πατρόκλεις West: Πατρόκλες Monro-Allen.

341-342 This portion of the fragment is badly damaged and therefore very difficult to read.

342 [θ]υiei, θυiei West (after Fink): θύει Monro-Allen. The upper right-hand portion of υ appears to be visible preceding ι, and thus the papyrus would be an attestation of the orthographic variant θυiei.

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5. *Homer, Iliad 1.574-583*

columbia.apis.p368 H x W = 5.0 x 3.9 cm late II CE
P.Oxy. 3.539 *descr.*; MP³ 620; LDAB 1664; Allen no. 0134; West no. 0134

This fragment contains part of a single column of text that is damaged on all sides and preserves anywhere from 1-9 letters per line of 10 lines of text. No margins survive. The verso contains a possible astronomical treatise (MP³ 2023), which Grenfell and Hunt dated to the second or third century.¹¹ The ink of the main text has faded to gray. There has been some wear on the papyrus as a whole and there are two large holes spanning multiple lines.

The text is written in a large formal round Roman Uncial hand. The ε, θ, ο, and c are all well rounded. The scribe maintains the interlinear space evenly throughout, with φ the only letter that breaks the bilinearity of the hand; both ρ and υ stay within the lines. There are also numerous, although inconsistent, serifs on the bottoms of many letters, including ο, ν, π, ι, and λ. Unfortunately, the fragment is so small that many letters are not adequately documented. Moreover, some of the letters attested multiple times show variation in form, most notably the φ, which has a round shape in line 578 but a diamond shape in line 577.

Dating is difficult because of the inconsistency of this hand, which is paleographically interesting. The hand does not seem to show features of an early Roman Uncial style (such as the ε with the top round closed “occhiellato” or η with the extremely high crossbar). In addition, the scribe used a thick pen with large tip to create variation in the thickness of the lines. This latter feature is

¹¹ Grenfell and Hunt refer simply to “parts of 8 lines of a scientific literary work of some kind.”

not part of the canon of Roman Uncial, but rather, characteristic of the Biblical Uncial hands of the late second century or early third century CE.¹² This combination of features necessitates the assignment of a late second century date.¹³

In line 583 there is a supralinear addition of $\epsilon\omega$ in a different hand, dating to approximately the same time as the main text. The letters are more cursive than those of the rest of the fragment and the ink is black. The addition provides a new variant, making the older ἴλαος into the later Attic form of the word, ἰλεως.

The text follows the vulgate throughout. The text of the papyrus is also partly represented by six other papyri: *MP³ P.Tebt.* 3.900 (mid II BC); *P.Princ.* 3.109 (V CE); *P.Mich.* inv. 2810, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 58-69 (II CE); *P.Strasb.* inv. Gr .83 (III CE); *P.Erl.* 3 (II CE); *P.Köln* 1.23 (late II CE).

].[
575	κολ]φο[v] ε[λαυνετον
] ηδο[c
	παρ]αφημι [
] η[ρ]α φερε[ιν
	πα]τηρ συν δ ημ[ιν
580	εθελ]ησιν Ολυμ[πιος
	στυ]φελιξαι ο γα[ρ
] γ επεεσσι κ[αθαπτεσθαι
] ιλαο`εω`c Ολυμ[πιος

574 Ink from an indeterminate letter is visible on the partly detached sliver of the papyrus.

575 I have reconstructed an ϵ as the final extant letter in this line based on the small line visible on the partly detached fragment. The line is horizontal and significantly longer than the base of any other letter possibility in the vulgate text.

583 For the supralinear addition, see the introduction.

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¹² I have been unable to find any other papyrus that exhibits this combination of features.

¹³ Professor Guglielmo Cavallo has kindly suggested that *P.Oxy* 3.539 should be one of the last examples of Roman Uncial.

6. *Homer, Iliad 11.359-402*

columbia.apis.p383 H x W = 23.8 x 5.7 cm second half of II CE
P.Oxy. 6.950 *descr.*; MP³ 876; *LDAB* 2003; Allen no. 0091; West no. 0091

The papyrus¹⁴ is damaged on all sides, but it preserves the full height of a column of writing containing 44 verses. One third to one half of each verse survives from the right side of the column. The column measures 21 cm in height. I estimate the width to have been between 12 and 13 cm, using Johnson's method of counting characters.¹⁵ The bottom and top margins are partly preserved; both are 1.4 cm high. Some parts of the intercolumnar space to the right are preserved also. The surface of the papyrus is coarse and the horizontal fibers are readily visible. The verso has no writing on it, but there are some traces of the ink from the recto bleeding through. There are long vertical cracks, especially in the top half of the papyrus, and there is a horizontal break under line 369. Two smaller pieces are separated: on the right side below line 391, and on the left side below line 397. The text is in a fairly readable condition, although some has been partly rubbed off in the middle and towards the left edge of the fragment. The ink is a faded black. The papyrus is part of a roll. Relying on Johnson's average upper (3-4 cm) and lower margins (3-5 cm) we estimate that the roll was between 27 and 30 cm tall.¹⁶

The text is written with the fibers in a Severe hand with a "sloping oval style" (Turner, *GMAW*², p. 26), and executed irregularly. The letters ε, θ, ο, and c are narrow, and μ and ν are almost twice as wide. ω, γ, and χ are also wide. Bilinearity is poorly maintained: some ο's hover (e.g. lines 372, 373), and descenders of φ, ρ, ψ, and υ touch on the following line. The writing has an inclination to the right, but there are no ligatures. *Alpha* is formed in two ways: e.g. the last α of line 362, and the last α in line 363. δ is formed in three strokes, with the horizontal stroke coming off the line sloping. The pen-strokes are thick, and the space between the lines is small. The writing, though by a proficient scribe, was not carefully done and was executed at a fast pace. The hand can be compared to *P.Oxy* 21.2293 (II CE, image online at <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>), and also to *P.Oxy* 5.842 (II CE, Roberts, *GLH*, pl. 17b).

¹⁴ Grenfell and Hunt (p. 315) also mention a second fragment as part of *P.Oxy.* 6.950, containing "a few letters from near the verse beginnings" of *Iliad* 11.322-329, but this has unfortunately gone missing since then. Considering the small size of the fragment, it seems likely that it was simply lost at one point; cf. R.J. Schork, "The Singular Circumstance of an Errant Papyrus," *Arion* 16.2 (2008) 25-47 at 35-40.

¹⁵ Johnson (n. 3) 11-12.

¹⁶ Johnson (n. 3) 136.

There is regular use of punctuation, and a number of diacritical marks and some corrections appear. The punctuation is largely consistent throughout: where the text is preserved we have dots for almost every period or high dot in the vulgate, and for some of the modern commas. *P.Oxy* 56.3827 (II CE) overlaps with our papyrus in lines 359-361, and here the punctuation is the same. All the dots – some are proper high dots, a few are in the middle of the line (lines 364, 383), and one almost on the line (line 386) – do the same double duty: they serve for both the modern comma and the full stop. The marks indicating pauses at ends of lines sometimes (e.g., in lines 383 and 400) seem to be more like short oblique strokes, such as also occur in *P.Oxy*. 56.3827. The middle dots that appear at the ends of lines 375 and 385 make no sense in context and are probably mistakes. The punctuation marks are later additions: they are large and have a slightly darker color.

Elision is marked by an apostrophe (lines 374, 398). In line 377 (δ' ἀμπερὲς) no apostrophe is visible, although it may have been lost, as part of δ is lost. Thirteen accents remain, of all three types and marked correctly. Circumflex (lines 362, 385) is formed by two strokes. In line 377 we see a phenomenon first described by Mazzucchi and more recently by Cribiore:¹⁷ there are graves on the antepenult and penult of ἀμπερὲς, which were added to help the reader anticipate the accent on the ultima. There is one breathing-mark, on ὄν in line 367. It has the shape Turner calls form 3, which is like a v tilted to the right.¹⁸ The accents and the breathing-mark were added later: the ink is darker and they are oversized and crudely placed (lines 366, 367, 380). Diaeresis occurs four times. In lines 377 and 387 the use is organic. In line 389 there is diaeresis on παῖς which has to be read as two shorts because of the meter. The diaeresis marks were added later too: they were squeezed between the letters and also have the darker color. The original scribe appears not to have used *iota* adscript, but it was added later in πυργῶι in 317,¹⁹ in ἡνιοχῶι in 399, and possibly in ἐπαυρήι in 391.

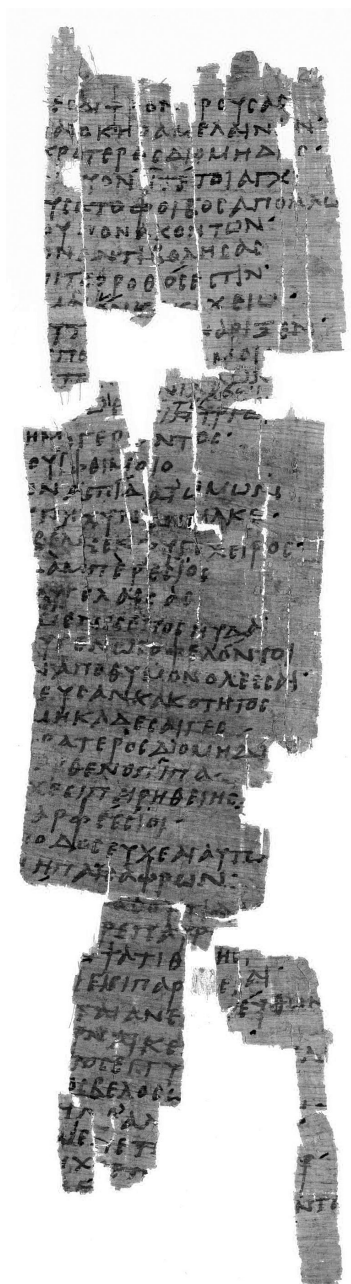
There are a number of corrections, including a small *ancora* in line 359 marking an error, possibly made by the same reader who marked the punctuation and diacritics. The text follows the vulgate throughout, with a few minor exceptions. These lines of the papyrus are also (partly) represented by five other papyri, MP³ 870, 876.01, 876.1, 876.2, and 876.201.

¹⁷ C.M. Mazzucchi, "Sul sistema di accentuazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina," *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 145-167; Cribiore (n. 5) 85.

¹⁸ Turner, *GMAW*² 14.

¹⁹ The writer of supralinear τυμβῶι did use it, however.

- margin
 359] ες διψρον ορουσας
 360 αλευ]ατο κηρα μελαιναν
] κρατερος Διομηδης
 θανατο]ν [κ]υον' ἤ τέ τοι αγχι
 ερ]υσατο Φοιβος Απολλω[ν]
 δ]ουπον ακοντων
 365 υστερ]ον αντιβολησας
 ε]πιταρροθος εστιν
 επεικο]μαι ὄν κε κιχειω
 κλ]υτο[ν εξα]γαριξεν
 ελενη]ς πο[σις η]υκ]ομοιο
 370 τιταιν]ετο π[οιμε]νι λαων
 ανδροκμη]τωι επι [[πυργωι]] `τυμβωι'
 δ]ημογεροντος
 Αγατροφ]ου ιφθιμοιο
 παναιολ]ον ασπίδα τ' ωμων
 375 τοξο]ν πηχυν ανειλκε
] βέλός εκφυγε χειρος
]δ ἀμπέρεις ἴος
 η]δυ γελασσας
 ευχο]μενος επος η]υδα
 380 εκφ]υγεν ως οφελόν τοι
 βαλω]ν απο θυμον ολεσσαι
 ανεπν]ευσαν κακοτητος
] μηκαδες αιγες
] κρατερος Διομηδης
 385 π]αρθενοπίπα
 τευ]χεσι πειρηθεις
] ταρφέες ἴοι
] ποδος ευχεται αυτως
 βαλο]ι η παῖς αφρων
 390 αν]ά[λκι]δος ουτιδα[νοιο
 πε]ρ επαυρηι
] αιψα τιθησι
 αμφιδρυφο]ι ειςι παρειαι
] γαιαν ερέυθων
 395 γ]υναικες
 δουρικλυ]τος εγγυ[θεν ελθ]ων
 καθεζομεν]ος βελος ω[κυ



χροος] ηλθ' αλ[εγειν]η·
 ηνιοχ]ω' ι' επετε[λλε
 400] ηχθετο [γαρ κη]ρ·
 ου]δε [
 πα]ντα[c
 margin

359 There is a small *ancora* on top of the ψ in διψρον (the scribe mistakenly wrote ψ for φ, the vulgate has δίφρον) which probably points to a correction in the part of the margin now lost (for the use of *ancora* for a correction see McNamee [n. 9] 13).

365 Under the ν in αντιβολησac a faded oval form is visible through the left vertical line. The scribe may first have repeated α and written ν over it. There are horizontal strokes between ι and β, and ο has a thin stroke through the lower half.

368 ἐξενάριξεν pap. ZenSA: ἐξενάριζεν West. The papyrus has the aorist, the vulgate the imperfect. The latter is to be preferred: Diomedes is struck while he is stripping spoils from the body of a slain enemy.

371 τυμβωι pap. West: πυργωι D. The crossed out text and the correction scribbled on top (which agrees with the vulgate) represent different readings. To speak of a τύμβος (grave-mound) here is better. The confusion arises, because Paris uses Ilus' grave as a πύργος (watchtower). Nowhere else in the manuscript tradition for the Homeric corpus is πύργος written for τύμβος. πύργος is more common (41 times, only in the *Iliad*) than τύμβος (19 times, in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), which helps explain the error.

375 ἀνείλκε pap. codd.: ἀνείλκεν West.

381 ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι pap. Gf P¹⁰ P¹² U¹³ V¹ Vi⁵ Eu.: ἐκ θυμὸν ἐλέσθαι West. ἐξαιρέω θυμὸν and ἀπόλλυμι θυμὸν (there is tmesis in the texts) both mean “to take someone’s life, to kill someone.” ἐξαιρέω θυμὸν is a specifically Homeric usage (LSJ, s.v. III.3), and therefore the better reading.

Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193: A Pachomian Easter Lectionary?

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Abstract

Edition of two additional pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193. They continue the hitherto unidentified last tractate 5. Perhaps this was the conclusion of a putative Pachomian Easter lectionary.

Introduction

Among the unpublished Coptic papyri of the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin) is a frame containing four fragments in Sahidic, hereby assigned the designation Papyrus Chester Beatty 2026.¹ With the possible exception of the fourth and smallest fragment, they are part of a single papyrus leaf of rather small dimensions, belonging to the well-known Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 and, more particularly, to its fifth and final tractate, hereafter called tractate 5.² That fragments of this codex ended up in the possession of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty need not occasion surprise, given that several other manuscripts as well, thought to belong to the Dishna discovery of 1952, are divided between

¹ Albert Pietersma, "Chester Beatty Papyri," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 1: 901-903, here B.3.b.(4). The authors are grateful to the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library for permission to publish this text and to an anonymous *BASP* referee for its proper identification. Also a warm thank-you to James Goehring for his generous help, not least for the relevant digital images of CS Codex MS 193. Without his kind assistance we could not have managed.

² For the *editio princeps* of this codex see James E. Goehring, *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection* (Leuven 1990). The first description of the codex is William H. Willis, "The New Collections of Papyri at the University of Mississippi," in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Papyrology* (Oxford 1961) 381-392. We have not succeeded in assigning any of the hitherto unidentified fragments of the codex to tractate 5. Page 46, however, contains new unidentified fragments from the Chester Beatty Library that seem to belong to CS 193. However, the only reason for including them here is to make them publicly available.

the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer (Cologny-Geneva), the major repository of this find.³ It has been argued that the so-called Dishna papers hail from the library of the Pachomian monastery at Pbow, modern Fāw Qiblī.⁴

Numbers, Measurements, and Dates

The original page size of P. Chester Beatty 2026 will have been *ca.* 14.7 cm high x 15.9 cm wide,⁵ but whereas the two preceding pages of tractate 5 count 12 lines of text per page, our two pages have only 10. Lines have 17.5 letters on average and, throughout the tractate, segments of text are marked off by spaces, sometimes preceded by a dicolon. The Chester Beatty pages, however, show no evidence of the dicolon. Thus here as elsewhere, the codex's copyist was not consistent in his practice.

According to James Robinson, the paleographical date assigned to the codex as a whole ranges from the late second century AD to *ca.* 400,⁶ and the aspects of its makeup pertinent to tractate 5 are as follows. The codex is comprised of a single-quire, the first eight sheets of which have the side with the fibres running vertically (↓) facing up. As a result, the first sixteen pages have a recto/verso (→↓) order, while the last sixteen, including tractate 5, have the reverse (↓→). Since tractate 5 commences on sheet seven, leaf recto (→), assigned page number 124,⁷ its opening two lines are on a page with fibres running horizontally (→). Thereafter, however, the page order of the tractate is verso/recto (↓→). According to both William Willis and James Robinson the codex originally had 68 leaves or 136 pages.⁸

³ For the manuscript find see James M. Robinson, *The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty and the Bibliothèque Bodmer* (Claremont, CA 1990), and "The Manuscript's History and Codicology," in Goehring (n. 2) xix-xxvii (see p. xxxvi for fragments of the codex formerly in the possession of Bibliothèque Bodmer).

⁴ Robinson, *The Pachomian Monastic Library* (n. 3) and "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3).

⁵ Cf. Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xliii-xliv. Willis (n. 2) 387 gives the general dimensions as 14.6 cm high x 15.2 cm wide.

⁶ Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xxxiii. See also Willis (n. 2) 389, who himself prefers the third century.

⁷ Since the codex lacks continuous pagination, scholars have assigned it for the sake of convenience. We use the assigned system unless otherwise indicated.

⁸ Since 17 and 26 are half sheets the total number of pages is 136 pages rather than 140; see Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xlv.

Contents and Pagination

Leaf 13 is the first complete leaf in the codex. Although the recto (→) side of this leaf is the 25th page (judged by the stubs at the spine), its Coptic page number is 10 (= 19). Thus the first text, Melito's *On the Passover*, must have started on leaf 4 recto (→) or page 7, seemingly leaving the first six pages blank⁹ or possibly inscribed with a short treatise.¹⁰ Either way, the supposition of six spare pages at the beginning of the codex is open to question. As Robinson notes, given that the fragments placed on pages 7/8 are preceded, in Greek copies of Melito's text, by the equivalent of *ca.* two pages of Coptic text, Melito's homily must have begun not on page 7 but on page 5, thus leaving a maximum of four pages blank (or otherwise inscribed) at the front of the codex.¹¹

It bears noting, however, that consistency, including in pagination, was not the copyist's strongest suit. The first two tractates (*On the Passover* and *Jewish Martyrs*) are paginated continuously, but with the third one (*Epistle of Peter*) pagination was started over on a new page. Similarly, the fourth tractate (*Jonah the Prophet*) begins with page 1 (= 1), but, this time, *1 Peter* and *Jonah* respectively end and begin on the same page. While tractate 5 begins on the same page on which *Jonah* ends, namely, page 124 of the assigned enumeration, there is no way of knowing whether pagination continued or was started over. Last but not least is the fact that page numbers 50 (= 50) and 51 (= 51) are used twice, thus reducing the count by two pages.¹²

If, rather than accepting 10 (= 19) at face value, we posit a similar mistake of duplicate page numbers in the early part of the codex, the count is reduced by another two, thus limiting the number prior to Melito's text to one leaf or two pages. Alternatively, one might postulate two flyleaves or four pages at both the front and the back of the codex, as has been postulated, for example, for Mississippi Coptic Codex II.¹³ Either way, there is no good reason to believe that the codex had uninscribed pages apart from the flyleaves. Accordingly, we have numbered the concluding tractate no. 5 rather than no. 6, as Robinson does. Tractate 5, as noted, begins on page 124 and, if Robinson's postulate of a

⁹ Willis (n. 2) 384.

¹⁰ Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xlvi.

¹¹ Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xlvi. See also Goehring (n. 2) 4, n. 13. Counting Greek words rather than lines produces the same results.

¹² Goehring (n. 2) liii, n. 10 notes another, although senseless, mistake in pagination, namely, 50(?) for 56).

¹³ Robinson, "The Manuscript's History" (n. 3) xxxvii. In that case, however, tractate 5 will have ended on p. 132 rather than on p. 134, as based on Robinson's postulated single flyleaf. Mississippi Coptic Codex II, like Crosby-Schøyen 193, is said to belong to the Dishna papers.

single, uninscribed flyleaf is correct, it will have ended on p. 134. On the other hand, if one postulates two flyleaves at the back, it will have ended on p. 132.

"Filler" or Conclusion?

Since the same scribe copied the entire codex, tractate 5 is clearly original to the codex. Less certain, however, is its function (or lack thereof) vis-à-vis the four documents that precede it. Of interest here is its difference in format. Whereas the first four texts are inscribed two columns to a page and, as well, are supplied with titles (superscript and subscript in at least three cases), tractate 5 is written in a single column, slightly broader than the two columns combined elsewhere and has no superscript title. Whatever subscript title it may have had is now lost.

The meaning of the contrast in format and title is open to more than one interpretation. Willis notes the discrepancy but, in spite of it, writes, "The entire codex ... was Paschal in character, and was perhaps a lector's book for use at a pre-Nicene Easter celebration."¹⁴ Similarly, for Allen Cabaniss tractate 5 belongs with the whole collection of texts, together labeled a Paschal lectionary.¹⁵ James Goehring, on the other hand, thinks that it may have been added by the scribe as a "filler" for the pages at the end of the codex that would otherwise have been left blank.¹⁶ The implication of Goehring's suggestion is, therefore, that tractate 5 was selected for its length, rather than for its contents and relevance to the other texts. Yet, he is not unaware of a certain literary resemblance between this "filler" and Melito's *On the Passover*.¹⁷

But perhaps the difference in format and the lack of superscript title admit of an explanation other than a spatial one. Since tractates 1-4 are clearly texts that enjoyed widespread popularity and thus came endowed with prestige and a certain level of authority, it need not occasion surprise that they were duly identified as to their origin and status. All of them are, moreover, translations from Greek. Whether their double-column format was inherited from their antigraphs is not possible to determine. The contrast with the fifth tractate on both counts, although noteworthy, might reflect a difference in status and origin. In other words, the concluding piece might be a local production rather than an acquired traditional text. What "local" might mean will be suggested

¹⁴ Willis (n. 2) 386.

¹⁵ Allen Cabaniss, "The University of Mississippi Coptic Papyrus Manuscript: A Paschal Lectionary?" *NTS* 8 (1961) 70-72.

¹⁶ Goehring (n. 2) lii and 263.

¹⁷ Goehring (n. 2) 263, n. 2.

later. As we will suggest presently, rather than having been composed in Greek, tractate 5 was well nigh certainly composed in Sahidic.

Finally, a consideration that has thus far been overlooked. Although tractate 5 is different in format from the other documents in the Crosby-Schøyen codex, it has the same single-column format as virtually all the other codices assigned to the so-called Dishna papers – and that includes P.Bodmer II, said to be in several respects parallel to our codex as a whole.¹⁸ The only codex among the published Dishna papers that features two columns of text per page is P.Bodmer XIX, a parchment containing Matthew and Romans in Sahidic.¹⁹ Thus within this larger grouping of texts tractate 5, rather than being an aberration, in fact reflects the norm. On that basis, one may want to rephrase the question and ask why it is that the first four tractates in our codex, Melito's *On the Passover*, *Jewish Martyrs*, *Epistle of Peter*, and *Jonah the Prophet*, along with P. Bodmer XIX, deviate from the norm of the Dishna papers.

Tractate 5 and the Rest of the Codex

A better guide to the function of tractate 5 might be its form and contents, as well as its relationship to the rest of the codex. Both Willis²⁰ and Goehring²¹ refer to it as a homily, and to the extent that contemporary English usage fails to distinguish between “homily” and “sermon,” this label may be adequate. Yet, even though tractate 5 contains allusions to the New Testament and cites Old Testament paradigms to be imitated, it can scarcely be called a text-based form of preaching.²² Moreover, it features a vocative in its opening sentence and then proceeds with a string of hortatory forms. In fact, with the new evidence of P.Chester Beatty 2026, it is now clearer than ever that, for at least its first four pages, the theme of tractate 5 is a summons to prayer for God's mercy, the persistence of which is reminiscent of the importunate widow (Lk 18:1-8). Thus Goehring's second choice would seem preferable to his first. That is to say, what we have is not a homily but an exhortation or, perhaps better, a supplication for

¹⁸ Goehring (n. 2) li. For a suggested list of the Dishna papers see Robinson, “The Manuscript's History” (n. 3) xxviii-xxxiii.

¹⁹ The Bibliothèque Bodmer has confirmed that the unpublished Bodmer papyrus thought to belong to the Dishna papers (P.Bodmer XL-XLIV) follow suit in having a single column of text per page.

²⁰ Willis (n. 2) 386.

²¹ Goehring (n. 2) 264.

²² Cf. Mark Sheridan, “Rhetorical Structure in Coptic Sermons,” in *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context*, ed. James E. Goehring and Janet A. Timbie (Washington, DC 2007) 25-48 at n. 1.

mercy.²³ Not only do its form and content favor this label, but a summons to prevail on God's mercy, as a conclusion to a series of documents that focus on suffering, death, and resurrection, typologically of Christ in the first instance but, in terms of *imitatio Christi*, also of Christians, makes eminent sense. Not to be overlooked in this connection is the refrain that comes with each biblical example: "X entreated God until he had mercy on him." Plausibly, this refrain is an audience response to the lector's reciting of the concluding supplication.

Language and the Question of Authorship

If tractate 5 is not only original to the codex but appears as well to play a literary and liturgical role within it, one may well wonder who composed it. As already noted, no title or name was attached or, in any case, has survived. Among the writers represented in the codex, Melito would seem to be the only potential candidate, and Goehring has indeed drawn our attention to some stylistic similarities between Melito's homily and tractate 5.²⁴ By way of illustration he cites a specific rhetorical device (anaphora):

ΜΑΡΕΝΙ ΕΝΚΡ[Α]ΤΗΣ ΚΑ ΝΕΥΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΥΡ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΜΜΗΝΕ
 ΝΣΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΝΣΕΑΡΗΖ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ Ν[Ε4]ΠΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ
 ΜΑΡΕΝΙΠΑΡΘ[Ε]ΝΟΣ ΚΑ ΝΕΥΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΕΥΜΟΥΖ ΜΜΗΝΕ
 ΝΣΕΡΘΕΙΣ ΝΣΕΑΡΗΖ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΑΤΨΕΛΕΕΤ²⁵

It is difficult if not impossible, as Goehring implies, to retrovert these lines into Greek without losing the anaphora, that is, the repetition of clause-initial prefixed verb forms. But if that is the case, it would seem logical to conclude that tractate 5 is not likely a translation from Greek – unless one be prepared to posit a translator committed to replacing rhetorical techniques in the Greek with comparable techniques in Coptic.

But if it is unlikely that tractate 5 was composed in Greek, it is unlikely for the same reason that Melito composed it, whatever further rhetorical similarities may be found to exist. Goehring reinforces this conclusion when he writes,

The splendid rhetorical style and phrasing of the Greek text [of Melito] is often lacking in the version either because it was not of

²³ Goehring (n. 2) 264.

²⁴ Goehring (n. 2) 263, n. 2.

²⁵ Goehring (n. 2) 264.

major interest to the scribe or because it lay beyond his competence to translate it.²⁶

Now that we have two additional pages of tractate 5, its rhetorical style stands in even greater contrast to Melito-in-Coptic than it did before. Therefore, although the author of tractate 5 may possibly have imitated Melito's style, Melito can scarcely be the author of the concluding exhortation. Moreover, since tractate 5 is only extant in Sahidic, the most parsimonious explanation of its linguistic form is clearly that it was composed in the only language in which it is extant. The burden of proof must surely lie with those who would have it otherwise.

Tractate 5 and Melito

But if Melito did not write tractate 5, similarities of whatever kind, although irrelevant for the question of authorship, might nevertheless be relevant for the question of the function of tractate 5 within the codex. So, for instance, the ovine metaphor of 125.7-8 is not only an allusion to Jn 10:11-18 but is also one heavily used by Melito.

Moreover, it is of interest that, although tractate 5 has a couple of allusions to the New Testament (see 125.7 and 126.2), all the extant paradigms of perseverance in entreaty are taken from the Old Testament – a predilection for the Old Testament similar to Melito's. Also, in two cases, that of Joseph and of Moses, the same event in their lives, as highlighted by Melito, is used as the occasion for imploration in tractate 5, even though its theme does not require it: Joseph is sold (Melito §59; tract. 5, 126.12-127.1), and Moses is exposed (Melito §59; tract. 5, 128.3-5). In the case of Joseph, our author apparently uses the same verb and grammar as does Melito's translator; in the case of Moses he presupposes readers'/hearers' indulgence, since Moses was but a babe of three months when exposed (Ex 2:2). To be noted too is that, while both Joseph and Moses are common paradigms in the Pachomiana and Joseph's wisdom is explicitly cited, the two events in their respective lives that occasion their entreaty for mercy do not appear in the Pachomiana but are explicitly mentioned in Melito. Nevertheless, what suggests catering to Melito is the fact that Joseph's epithet ("wise") in tractate 5 is scarcely warranted by the event cited, namely, his being sold to Egypt. At this point, his reputation for wisdom had not as yet been established.

Of interest as well is that Egypt and Pharaoh figure prominently in tractate 5, as they do in Melito, although admittedly both are central to the first Pascha

²⁶ See Goehring and Willis's introduction to Melito in (n. 2) 5.

event. Whereas God makes Joseph lord over the entire land, he (apparently) makes Moses lord over Pharaoh. Thus Moses is appropriately one step up on Joseph.

Although the specifics of the Joseph and Moses paradigms cater to Melito's *On the Passover*, there are differences as well. Whereas Melito focuses on Jesus' suffering/death and resurrection, a theme reinforced by the three tractates to follow, our author adopts a seemingly broader perspective by focusing on his incarnation and his public ministry, the first of which is mentioned only as a backdrop by Melito, while the second one is not broached at all. Another difference is that, whereas for Melito Old Testament personages are types of Christ, a view underscored by early Christian reading of Jonah, for our author the saints of the Old Covenant are subjects for *imitatio* by Christians, a perspective in line with a Christian reading of 2 Macc 5:27-7:41. Neither of these differences, however, is incompatible with Melito.

Tractate 5: Text and Translation

124(⇒)

ⲉⲣ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲧ ⲉⲛⲧⲓⲅⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲥ
ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
bottom of page

124

It is profitable for our soul, my
brothers, to seek after God.
bottom of page

1 Preceded by tractate 4, *Jonah the Prophet*

125(↓)

top of page

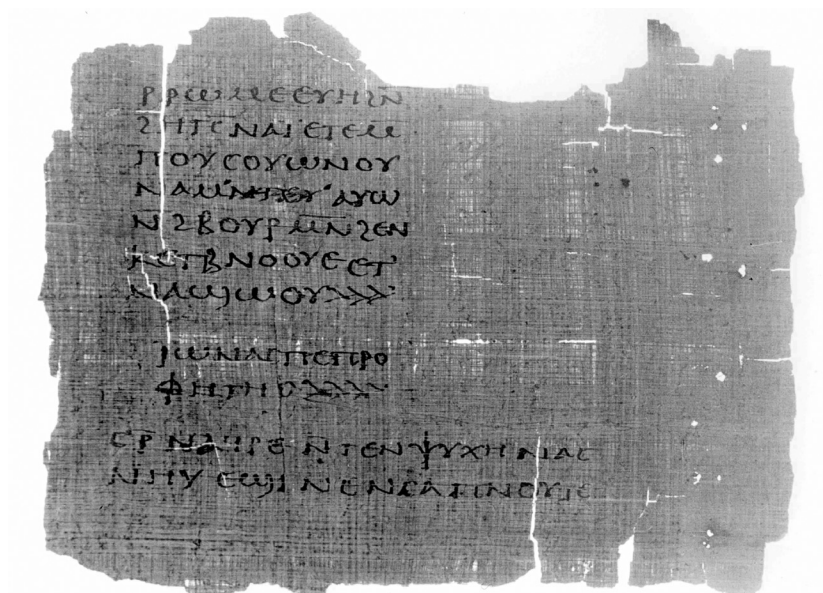
ⲙⲁ[ⲣⲛ]ⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲓⲅⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲏⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ
ⲉ]ⲣⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛ
ⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ <ⲛⲧ>ⲛⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲟⲩ
5 ⲥⲉⲡ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲉ<ⲛ>ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ 5
ⲙⲟⲛ {ⲩ} ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲁ[ⲃ] ⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ
ⲉⲥ[ⲣ]ⲁⲓ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ: ⲉⲩⲛⲁ
ⲧⲥ[ⲁ]ⲃⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲱⲁⲩⲱⲕ
10 ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲱⲛⲥ: ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲓ ⲉⲛ 10
ⲕⲣ[ⲁ]ⲧⲏⲥ ⲕⲁ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲟⲧⲁⲏ ⲉⲩⲣ ⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ: ⲛⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲥⲉ
bottom of page

125

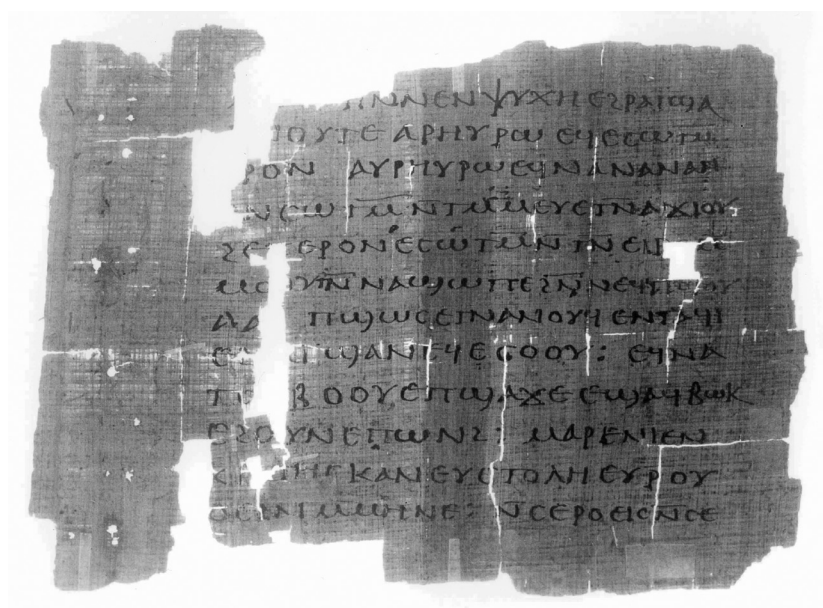
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Let us raise our souls upwards to
God. Perhaps he will hear
us. Perhaps he will have mercy on us.
If we hear and do not ponder, we will
incur judgment. If we hear and act,
verily we will be among his saints.
The good shepherd it is, who came
down to his sheep. He will
teach them the word that leads
to life. Let the continent
keep their garments shining
daily, and let them watch and
bottom of page

4 <ⲛⲧ>ⲛⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉ] also possible is ⲛⲧⲙⲙⲉⲩⲉ 5 ⲙⲙⲟⲛ] the following ⲩ
is ill formed and should be deleted 7 ⲡⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ] cf. Jn 10:11



Crosby-Schøyen 193 p. 124



Crosby-Schøyen 193 p. 125

126(→)

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ἀρῆς καὶ ἐγνασώπῃς ζῆν ν[ε]
 πετοῦλας μαρηνίπαρ[ε]
 νος καὶ νεγλαμπας ἐγμοῦς
 μμῆνε ἡσεροεῖς ἡσεαρη?
 5 καὶ ἐγνασώπῃς μὴ πατῶε
 λεῖτ': νόσε παῖκαῖος ἐνεῖ
 ὡῖνε ἡσα πῆοεῖς ἡταῖαπῶρ
 ννεῖεῖς ἐβόλ ἀτῶς μ
 πνοῦτε ὡαντεῖναδ ν[α]ῖ
 10 ἀτῶς μπνοῦτε ὡαντεῖνα
 εὐαῖ μπουτακοῖς μ πῆος
 მოს თრე: ἰωηφ πῆσα

bottom of page

2 παρῆενος] cf. Mt 25:1-13
 νόσε παῖκαῖος] cf. Gen 6:9; 7:1

126

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see to it that they come to be among his
 saints. Let the virgins
 keep their lamps filled
 daily, and let them watch and see to it
 5 that they come to be with the
 bridegroom. Righteous Noah, as he was
 seeking after the Lord, spread
 out his hands; he entreated
 God until he had mercy on him;
 10 he entreated God until he had mercy
 on him; he did not perish with the
 whole world. Wise Joseph,

bottom of page

6 νόσε] = Sahidic for Noah, cf. Greek Νωε;
 8 ἀτῶς] = ἀτῶς

127(↓)

top of page

βε πέν]ταῦτα[α] ἐβόλ νκῆ
 με ἀτῶρ [ννεῖεῖς ἐβόλ] α {κ}
 ἡτῶς μπ[νοῦτε ὡαντεῖ
 να]ῖ εὐαῖ [ἀτῶς μπνοῦτε
 5 ὡαντεῖνα εὐαῖ ἀ[εἰαῖ
 ὡεῖς εἰμ πκαῖς τῆ[ρ]
 ἀ[νῆλ πεπρ]φ[ητῆς π]ῆ
 τ[αγνοῖ] ἡνιμοῦεῖ ἀτ
 πῶρ[ω] νν]εῖεῖς ἐβόλ ἀτ
 10 τῶς μ[πνοῦτε ὡαντεῖνα

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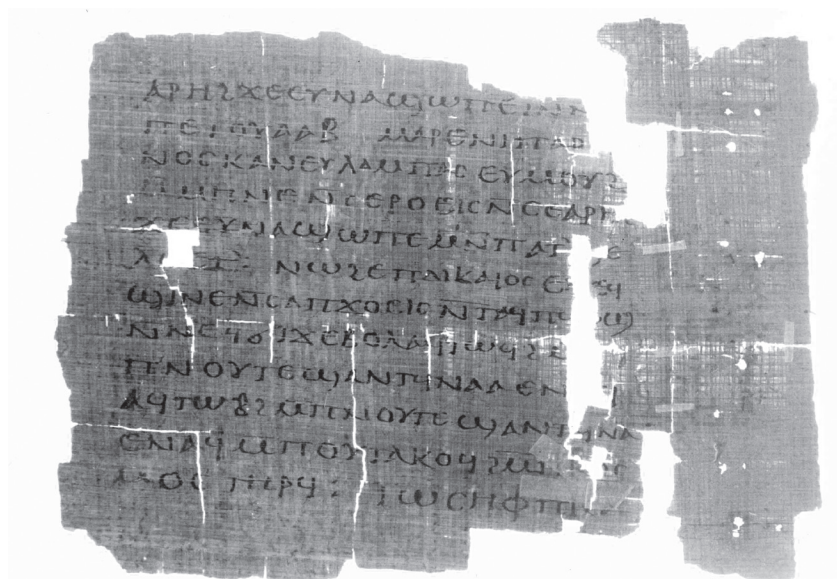
1 For the grammar and wording see Melito §59, p. 22 2-3 ἀτῶς] = ἀτῶς 6 τῆ] the size of the lacuna suggests spacing to mark the new entry 9-10 ἀτῶς] = ἀτῶς

127(↓)

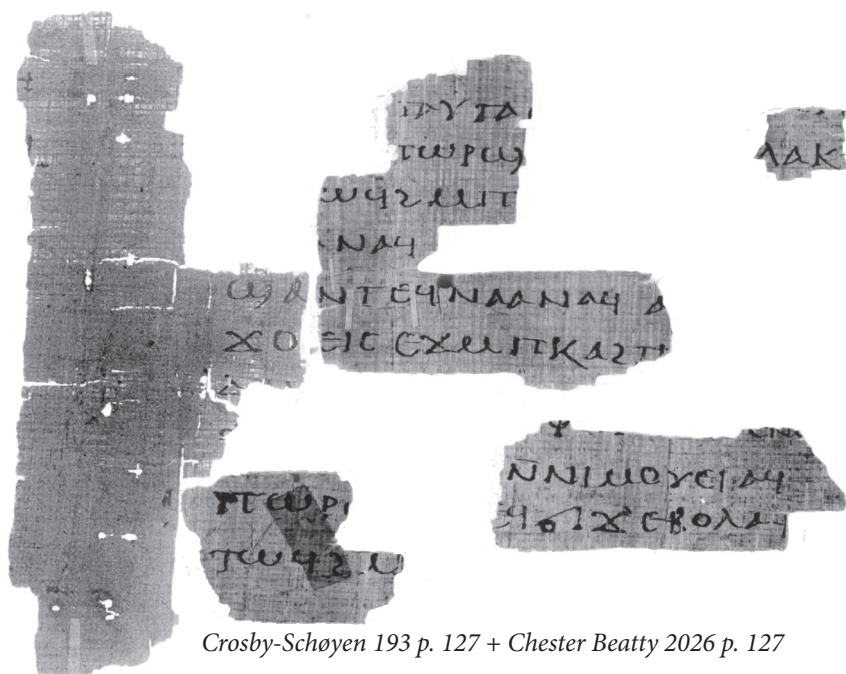
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who was sold into Egypt,
 spread out his hands; he
 entreated God until he had
 mercy on him; he entreated God
 5 until he had mercy on him; he made him
 lord over the whole land.
 Daniel the prophet, who
 was thrown to the lions, spread
 out his hands; he
 10 entreated God until he had mercy

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Crosby-Schøyen 193 p. 126



Crosby-Schøyen 193 p. 127 + Chester Beatty 2026 p. 127

128(→)		128(→)	
	top of page		top of page
ΝΑϢ ΔΑΤ]Ωϣ ₂ ΜΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ			on him; he entreated God
ΩΔΝ[ΤϢΝΔΔ] ΝΑϢ ΝΤϣ[ϢΩ			until he had mercy on him; he heard
ΤΜ ΕΡΟϢ ΔϢ ΝΔΖΜ]ϣ ΜΩΥϢ[ΗϢ			him and saved him. Moses
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΠΕΝΤ]ΔΥΚΑΔϢ			the babe, who was put
5 ΖΙΧΜ Π]ΜΟΟΥ ΝΤΑϢΠΩΡΩ	5		upon the water, spread out
ΝΝΕϢϢ]ΙΧ' ΕΒΟΛ ΔΑΤΩϣ ₂ Μ			his hands; he entreated
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ] ΩΔΝΤΕ[ϢΝΔΔ ΝΑϢ			God until he had mercy on him;
Δ]ϢΤΩϣ ₂ ΜΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ ΩΔΝΤΕ]Ϣ			he entreated God until he had
ΝΔΕ ΝΑϢ ΔϢΔΔϢ Ν[ΧΟΕΙϢ] ΕΧΝ			mercy on him; he made him lord over
10 Φ]ΔΡΑΩ ΔΝΙ . [. .]ΩΟΜΤ'	10		Pharaoh. We three
	bottom of page		bottom of page

1, 6, 8 ΔΑΤΩϣ₂] = ΔΑΤΩΒ₂ 2 ΝΤϢϢΩΤΜ] = ΝΤΑϢϢΩΤΜ 2-3 ΝΤϢϢΩΤΜ – ΔϢΝΔΖΜϢ] cf. Bel 33-39 3 ΜΩΥϢΗϢ] for the only other instance of this name with diaeresis in the codex see *On the Passover*, p. 30, col. 2, line 6 10 ΔΝ] if this is read as a verbal prefix (first plural first perfect) the list of paradigms will have ended with Moses. In any case, the spacing that precedes it suggests a new unit of text; ΩΟΜΤ'] too many interpretive options exist to hazard reconstruction

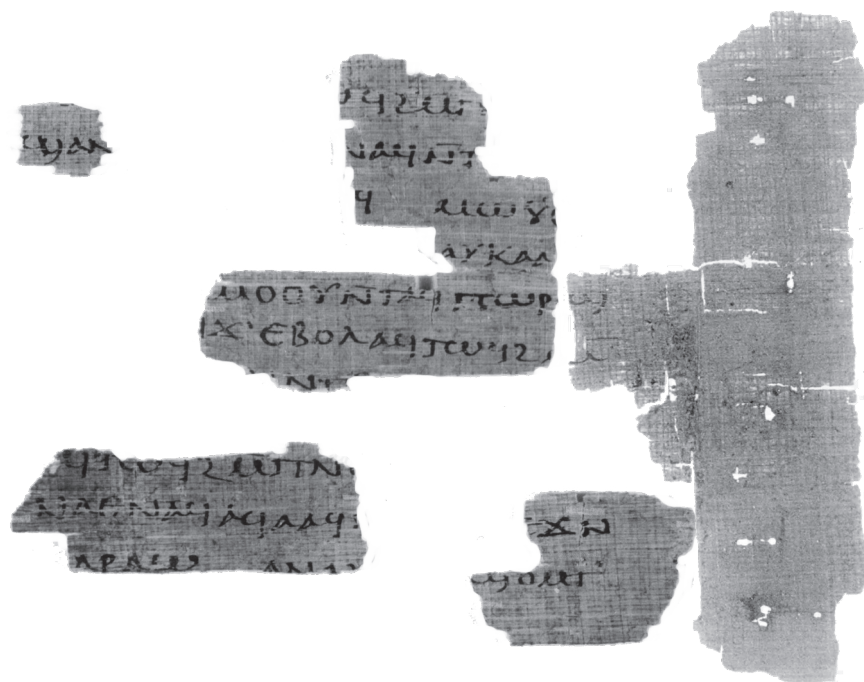
Our Text and a Monastic Milieu

Since Melito was not responsible for tractate 5, even though a certain continuity with his translation into Sahidic is in evidence, the question of authorship remains. Since no name was attached, the best we can do is to look for clues within the text itself. We again begin with Goehring.

As noted before, although Goehring thinks that tractate 5 is an early Christian homily, he does not preclude the possibility that it is an exhortation or catechesis “delivered in a monastic setting.”²⁷ In comment on 125.10-126.6, on the other hand – with reference to the “continent” (ΕΝΚΡΑΤΗΣ) and the “virgins” (ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ) – he weights his options differently, when he writes that, while this passage does not limit the text to a monastic setting, it “would at least make it readily at home there.”²⁸ But if tractate 5 can be seen to be at home in a monastic setting, might one not surmise that it in fact originated there?

²⁷ Goehring (n. 2) 264.

²⁸ Goehring (n. 2) 264.



Chester Beatty 2026 p. 128 + Crosby-Schøyen 193 p. 128

That our text, in its brief introduction, makes the reference to abstinence must surely reflect its importance to our composer. Furthermore, it is not abstinence in general that is at issue but sexual abstinence for males and females. Although this does not need to mean that both sexes were part of the text's actual audience, it does mean that both belonged to its prospective audience. It is difficult at this point not to be reminded of what we are told about Pachomius, the founder of the monastic *koinonia* in the Thebaid, namely, that when he prayed, he prayed in the first place for monks and virgins.²⁹ Also of interest is the exhortation that those who fear the Lord should arm themselves with chastity, so that "they may deserve to hear."³⁰ Chastity and deserving to hear are, therefore, interdependent.

²⁹ Armand Veilleux, "The Bohairic Life of Pachomius," in his *Pachomian Koinonia*. 1 (Kalamazoo, MI 1980) 138, §101.

³⁰ *Testament of Horsiesios* §20, in Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*. 3 (Kalamazoo, MI 1982) 185.

Underscoring the emphasis on sexual abstinence in our text is an exhortation very much at home in a monastic setting, namely, the call for continual watchfulness (125.12; 126.6) lest one perish like the generation of the Flood, except for righteous Noah (126.11-12).

A Pachomian Lectionary?

As has been intimated, for a variety of reasons that remain to be amplified, our hypothesis is that tractate 5 was composed at a Pachomian monastery where the entire codex was intended to be the liturgy for the annual Easter celebration of the Pachomian *koinonia* of monasteries. Several items have already been noted as being consistent with such a setting. We can add to the list 125.8-9 where, after emphasizing that it was the “good shepherd”³¹ who came down to his sheep, the text focuses on his teaching ministry, not as an historical event in the relatively distant past but as a present and future mission, carried on, no doubt, by the Pachomian brotherhood. In other words, the use of the future tense (ἑκὼς ἔσται) appears to be quite deliberate. The statement as a whole makes eminent sense, given that “teaching held first place in Pachomius’ quasi-apostolic mission.”³²

If the Crosby-Schøyen codex is an Easter lectionary, as is widely held, and if tractate 5 not only forms its liturgical conclusion but also reflects a Pachomian origin, as we are suggesting, the most parsimonious explanation would once again seem to be that the entire manuscript was created for the celebration of a Pachomian Pascha or Easter. That the Pachomian federation of monasteries celebrated a communal Easter festival on an annual basis is a well-known fact, often mentioned in the Pachomiana, including, for example, in the fifth letter of Pachomius and the first letter of Theodore, both sent out for the occasion.³³ The monks assembled at Pbow, the headquarters of the *koinonia*, and celebrated Easter for six days, ending on Saturday evening, resurrection Sunday being celebrated as the Day of Joy. The festival, as it seems, was a time *par excellence* of fasting, vigils, biblical instruction, prayer, recitation, remission, and physical labor. The baptism of catechumens also took place on this occasion.

³¹ See, for example, *G*^I 54; Theodore, *Instr.* 3.30; Horsiesius, *Test.* 17.

³² Adalbert de Vogüé in “Foreword” to Veilleux (n. 28) xiv.

³³ See Veilleux (n. 30) 63-67 and 123-125 respectively, and Pachomius, *Instruction* 2, *ibidem* 47-48. While the titles are no doubt secondary, the Passover festival is noted in the letters per se.

Structure and Theme of Tractate 5

Both the structure and the theme of our tractate underscore its Pachomian origin. The highly structured text we have divides readily into two parts: first, an introduction to the tractate (124.1-126.6) and, second, a list of Old Testament paradigms to be imitated (126.6-128.10).³⁴ While each part has its own internal arrangement, they are interconnected by a partial repetition of $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha \pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ of 124.2 in $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ of 126.7.

In part one nothing stands out as much as lexical and grammatical repetition, with the sentences arranged essentially in pairs, as becomes readily apparent from the following delineation:

Profitable it is for our soul ($\psi\chi\chi\eta$), my brothers, to seek after God ($\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$).

Let us raise our souls ($\psi\chi\chi\eta$) upwards to God ($\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$).

Perhaps ($\delta\rho\eta\gamma \rho\omega$) he will hear us.

Perhaps ($\delta\rho\eta\gamma \rho\omega$) he will have mercy on us.

If we hear ($\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau\bar{\iota}\mu$) and do not ponder, we will incur judgment.

If we hear ($\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau\bar{\iota}\mu$) and act, verily we will be among his saints ($\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta} \bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\bar{\nu}$).

The good shepherd it is, who came down to his sheep.

He will teach them the word that leads to life.

Let ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}\iota$ -) the continent keep ($\kappa\alpha$) their garments shining daily ($\bar{\mu}\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$), and let them watch ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) and see ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\alpha\rho\eta\bar{\varsigma}$) to it that they come to be among his saints ($\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta} \bar{\nu}\epsilon\chi\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\bar{\nu}$).

Let ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\bar{\nu}\iota$ -) the virgins keep ($\kappa\alpha$) their lamps filled daily ($\bar{\mu}\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$) and let them watch ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) and see ($\bar{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\alpha\rho\eta\bar{\varsigma}$) to it that they come to be with the bridegroom.

Repetition continues in part two, but since all paradigms have the same structure, each functions as a distinct unit of text:

Righteous Noah, as he was seeking after the Lord, spread out his hands;
he entreated God until he had mercy on him;

(*refrain*;) he entreated God until he had mercy on him;

³⁴ Lists of Old Testament models to follow are very common in the Pachomiana. Especially relevant is *Instructions of Saint Pachomius* §25 in Veilleux (n. 30) 24, which features a series of four saints, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Daniel plus Daniel's three friends as a unit. In the first three instances the listener is exhorted to "seek after" ($\omega\iota\eta\epsilon \bar{\nu}\varsigma\alpha$) God like X, while in the last two cases, the saints in question are reported to "have sought after" God.

he did not perish with the whole world.
 Wise Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, spread out his hands;
 he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 (*refrain:*) he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 he made him lord over the whole land.
 Daniel the prophet, who was thrown to the lions, spread out his hands;
 he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 (*refrain:*) he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 he heard him and saved him.
 Moses the babe, who was put upon the water, spread out his hands;
 he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 (*refrain:*) he entreated God until he had mercy on him;
 he made him lord over Pharaoh.

Various rhetorical techniques are in evidence, for example, anaphora, anadiplosis, asyndeton, antithesis, and parallelism.

The theme of tractate 5 is clear from the outset and is dramatically underscored by the refrain in the list of paradigms. The refrain may possibly have been recited in unison. While its wording may well have been influenced by the Psalms where a call for God's mercy (נא) is found close to twenty times, the plea itself was deeply rooted in Pachomian thought. As Veilleux observes, "Consciousness of the importance of God's mercy and grace permeates all the pachomian literature."³⁵

Lastly, not to be overlooked is that, in all four paradigms, the Old Testament saint in question utters his plea for divine mercy in a state of mortal danger. For that reason, as it seems, the verb used is not the common Sahidic term for prayer (ⲡⲗⲏⲗ) but a much rarer synonym that appears to carry a greater sense of urgency, namely, ⲧⲱⲃⲉ. All in all, it may thus be inferred that, like the paradigmatic saints, the addressees of tractate 5 are perceived to be radically beholden to God's mercy.

Pachomius' Putative Prayer Pose

Notably in the *Lives* of Pachomius some interesting information is presented on his reputed prayer pose. Whether this information has a direct bearing on what is stated in tractate 5, is not clear. We include it here as potential evidence of relationship between tractate 5 and the Pachomiana.

³⁵ Veilleux (n. 30) 81.

Central to the issue are essentially three passages suggesting that spreading out one's hands in prayer had a special meaning for Pachomius.

He [Pachomius] . . . had the habit when he extended his hands in prayer (ἐκτείνας εἰς εὐχὴν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ), of not right away drawing them a little to himself for rest. Rather, by extending them as if on a cross (ὥς ἐπὶ σταυροῦ) he would wear down the body to stay awake for prayers.³⁶

Both here and in §5 the Greek author (translator?) uses the verb ἐκτείνω “stretch out,” whereas Coptic tradition throughout has **ⲡⲱⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ** “spread out” for the prayer pose. The Greek writer, therefore, opts for Greek idiom rather than trying to reflect Coptic wording.³⁷ A two-fold significance is ascribed to the pose, the first being its cruciform manner and the second its function to promote wakefulness.

They [Pachomius and his brother John] mortified themselves during their prayers, moving neither their feet nor their hands, which they kept stretched out (**ⲡⲱⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ**) lest sleep overtake them.³⁸

The practical aim for the pose is here the same as in *G1* §16 but no theological symbolism is adduced.

It is through our contact with such a righteous man [Pachomius] that we have learned the will of God even in such details as the manner of

³⁶ Veilleux (n. 29) 308, §16, = François Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* (= *G1*) (Brussels 1932) 10, §16. MS B has a lengthy lacuna at this point, from the first two lines of §11 to the middle of §17 (see François Halkin, *Le corpus Athénien de Saint Pachome* [Genève 1982]).

³⁷ What happened here is similar to what happened in the Septuagint with the expression in question. Nearly always when the Hebrew parent text read פָּרַשׁ יָדַי “spread out the hands (in prayer),” the Greek rendered it by δια/ἐκπετάννυμι τὰς χεῖρας “spread out the hands (in prayer),” but in the books composed in Greek (plus Isa 1:15) the phrase is consistently ἀνα/ἐκ/προτείνω τὰς χεῖρας, “stretch up/out/forward the hands (in prayer).” Also of interest is *Epistula Ammonis* §19 (= *EpAm*), which may have an allusion to 2 Macc 15:21. In any case three brothers are said to raise their hands to heaven (ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) and tearfully entreat God to have mercy. Thus, there is here no doubt about the prayer pose. See James E. Goehring, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (Berlin-New York 1986) 140 and 170.

³⁸ Veilleux (n. 29) 41, §19 = L.-Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vitae sahidice scriptae* (Paris 1933) (= VS) 105, col. 1, lines 15-22. Since four pages of the Bohairic have been lost, Veilleux here translates from Sahidic³ = VS pp. 102A36-B32, 104A26-105B25, 109B2-36.

stretching our hands upward to the Lord (ΦΩΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΧΙΧ)
and how one should pray to God. It is he who taught it to us.³⁹

While this reference features neither explanation we find in the preceding passages, it suggests not only that the prayer pose was in some way unique to Pachomius but also that he taught it to his followers. If correct, this would explain why in the Pachomiana it is attributed not only to Pachomius but to some of his followers as well. One finds the phrase in question some twenty times, although some of these are duplicates.

That the expression ΠΩΡΩ ΝΝΕΓΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ as a prayer pose originated with Pachomius is out of the question for the simple reason that we not only find its Greek equivalent (διαῖκπετάννυμι κτλ.) already in the Septuagint (as a literal rendering of Hebrew פָּרַשׁ) but also in its Coptic daughter versions. Prominent instances are Ex 9:29 and 33, where Moses ("outside the city") spreads out his hands in prayer to the Lord to relieve Egypt from the seventh plague. The Sahidic here uses ΠΩΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ, in distinction from COOYTN ΕΒΟΛ employed for other instances of raising one's hand in Ex 3-15.⁴⁰ It is not without interest that, as Goehring notes, Pachomius was identified with Moses, at least by his successors.⁴¹

That Pachomius put his own interpretation on the prayer pose is not improbable and is, in any case, suggested by the relative frequency with which the phrase appears in his *Lives*.

It also figures prominently in tractate 5 by occurring in all four paradigms from the Old Testament. Whether this is attributable to Pachomian authorship or is due to the central role played by the Exodus account in the codex is difficult to say. Either scenario can adequately explain the phenomenon.

Conclusion

As we noted in the introduction to this article, James Robinson has argued that the Crosby-Schøyen codex belongs to the so-called Dishna papers, discovered in 1952 in Upper Egypt near the ancient headquarters of the Pachomian monastic movement, at Pbow, and that the manuscripts of this find

³⁹ Veilleux (n. 29) 239, §194 = L.-Th. Lefort, S. *Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* (Paris 1925) (= VB) 185, lines 25-29.

⁴⁰ Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVI. Exode I-XV, 21 en sahidique* (Cologny-Genève 1961). The Sahidic contrast between COOYTN ΕΒΟΛ and ΠΩΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ in Ex 1-15 reflects that of the Greek between ἑκτείνω and ἑκπετάννυμι.

⁴¹ James E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, PA 1999) 225.

once belonged to the monastery's library. The internal evidence of tractate 5 and the role that it plays within the codex, we believe, confirm a Pachomian origin for the entire collection of Paschal texts. If that is correct, the date of Crosby-Schøyen MS 193 cannot be earlier than the beginnings of the Pachomian federation of monasteries *ca.* AD 329. Given that all palaeographically assigned dates fall in the second to fourth centuries (with *ca.* 400 as the latest), it appears plausible that the codex was written some time between *ca.* 329 and Pachomius' death in 346, even though a somewhat later date poses no historical problems. In light of Pachomius' larger-than-life stature in the *koinonia* (at least, viewed retrospectively by his successors), it is not improbable that it was he who composed tractate 5, whether as a freestanding text or as part of the Paschal lectionary. But again, from a historical perspective there is no good reason to exclude the possibility that one of his successors, Theodore or Horsiesius, composed or commissioned our text.⁴²

Just how this lectionary ended we do not know, but it is clear that tractate 5 could have been at most *ca.* ten pages long (although most likely no more than eight). Since the introduction and a list of paradigms to be imitated are extant, it seems safe to postulate that, at the very least, a brief entreaty for God's mercy would have followed.

One can only hope that newly discovered fragments will once again lift the veil of history – even if ever so slightly.

⁴² In a private communication (dated 4/20/2011) James Goehring writes: "I would push the codex's date later in his [Pachomius'] life or in the period after his death when the federation had grown in size and stature. It would certainly fit the period from the mid-fourth to fifth centuries when the community at Pbow constructed three basilicas in succession, each larger and more ornate than the last."



Crosby-Schøyen 193? unidentified (↓) = CB 13(22)



Crosby-Schøyen 193? unidentified (→) = CB 13(22)

Apprenticeship Contract for Carpentry

Chris Eckerman *University of Oregon*

Abstract

Edition of P.Mich. inv. 4238, the first apprenticeship contract for carpentry.

P.Mich. inv. 4238

H x W = 10.5 x 7.5 cm

Theadelphia,

Acquired in 1925

28 August, AD 128

There is a 1 cm upper margin; the right side has no margin since the writing runs to the edge of the sheet. The left side is heavily abraded. The papyrus breaks off at the bottom. Lacunae and abrasion show that the text was rolled or folded into three sections (there are horizontal folds between ll. 6-7 and 15-16). The verso (↓) is blank.

This lacunose contract is of particular interest since no other apprenticeship contracts for τεκτονική have been published. The contract was drawn up on the last day of the year, and the apprenticeship was to start on the following day and run for a year. If the reading in l. 7 is correct, the master was the nephew (age 25) of the father (age 42) of the apprentice boy. This seems so far unique. On apprenticeship contracts on papyrus, see M. Bergamasco *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 95-167, with reference to previous discussion.

- [Ἔτους δω]δεκ[άτ]ου Αὐτοκράτορος
[Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστ[οῦ]
[μηνὸς Καισα]ρείου ἐ]παγομένων ἡ ἡ[ν]
[Θ]εῶδε[λ]φεία τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ[ο(ς)]
5 [τοῦ Ἀρσ]ινίου[τ]ου νομοῦ. ἐξέδετο Διδάσ
[ca. 6 ὥς] ἐτῶν τεσσεράκοντα δύο
[ca. 8] τῶι ἑαυτοῦ ἀ[δ]ελφί-
[δῶ ca. 5] ὥς ἐτῶν ἑκοσι πέντε
[ca. 10] ἀρι[στ]ερῶ τὸν ἑα[ν]τοῦ
10 [υῖόν ca. 5 ἐ]πὶ χ[ρό]νον] ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα
[ἀπὸ τ]ῆς νεοϋμ[η]νίας] τοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ]
[μηνὸς τοῦ ε]ἰσιόγ[τ]ος τρισκεδεκάτου
[ἔτους] Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

- [ca. 8] . [.] . . αὐτὸν τὴν τεκτωνικὴν\γ/
 15 [τέχνην πᾶσ]αν ἐντελῶς καθ' ἣν [ca. 5]
 [ca. 10] . . αὐτὸς ἐφίσταται
 [ca. 7 τρέ]φογτος καὶ ἱματίζοντ[ο]\ς/
 [τὸν παῖδα μ]ὴ οὔσης ἐξου[σί]ας τῷ
 [Διδᾶ ἐντὸς το]ῦ χ[ρό]γου ἀποσπᾶν [τὸν]
 20 [παῖδα ὄνπερ οὐκ ἀπο]σπᾶσω ἀπὸ σ[οῦ]
 [ca. 15] [ca. 5]
-

5 l. ἐξέδοτο 11 l. νεομηνίας 12 l. τρισκαιδεκάτου 14 l. τεκτονικὴν
 16 l. ἐπίσταται

“In the twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, on the 5th day of the *epagomenai* of the month Kaisareios, in Theadelphia of the *meris* of Themistos (5) of the Arsinoite nome, Didas (son of X), being about forty two years old, (with a scar) ..., handed over to his nephew Y, being about twenty five years old, (with a scar) on the left ..., his own (10) son Z for a period of one year from the first of the month Sebastos of the coming thirteenth year of Hadrian Caesar the lord (to teach) him fully the (15) whole craft of carpentry ... as he himself knows ... maintaining and clothing the boy ... while it is not permitted to Didas to take the (20) boy away within the time and I will not take him away from you ...”

1 δω]δεκ[άρ]ου: restored after ll. 11-12. On the restored titlature see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 61-63.

3 For the supplement cf., e.g., *PSI* 10.1132.2.

8 The scribe stretched the horizontal bar of the final *epsilon* to extend to the margin.

10 Cf., e.g., *PSI* 3.241 for an apprenticeship lasting one year and *SB* 14.11982.8 for the phraseology.

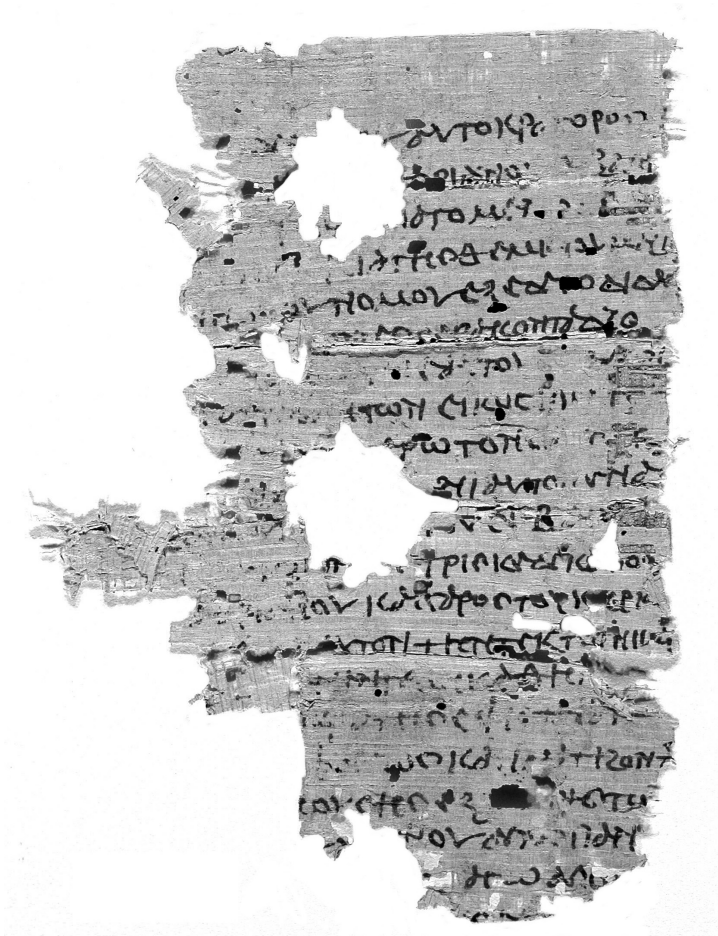
14 The lacuna would have contained a reference to teaching. The common phrases ὥστε μαθεῖν and ὥστε διδάξαι are both plausible. On the varying syntactic ways of expressing the necessity of teaching, see the editor's remarks on *P.Oslo* 3.141.8 and Bergamasco, *op.cit.*, p. 100, n. 21.

16 On the requirement that the apprentice learn the craft as well as the master, see the discussion of Bergamasco, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-105 and 116-117;

normally ὡς καί or καθὼς καί precedes the expression in the text, but καί cannot be read, and καθ' ἣν in the preceding line suggests another elocution (as yet unattested). A horizontal elongated dash after the verb fills the gap to the margin (cf. l. 8 above).

17 The apprenticeship contracts generally prescribe the provision of the apprentice's maintenance and clothing; cf. Bergamasco, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-140.

21 There is a mixture of formulas here (ll. 18-20 are "objective" in the third person, whereas ll. 20ff. are "subjective" in the first person), and at the beginning of l. 21 the expression ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου may have been repeated from l. 19.



Letter from Hermias to Apollon¹

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Abstract

Edition of a letter reminding the addressee of two friends from Kerkephtha in the Athribite nome the author had previously recommended to him and Deios the *basilikos grammateus* there.

P.Duke inv. 913
Acquired in 1973

H x W = 18.1 x 6.7 cm

Provenance unknown,
mid-II AD

The upper margin is 0.5 cm; on the left side the margin is 1 cm, while on the right it is very small and in some lines (4-6, 8) non-existent. The text breaks off after l. 25. The letter is written in the vertical format as defined in a recent study by J.-L. Fournet (a narrow sheet of papyrus was arranged vertically, and the text follows the direction of the fibres).² Of particular interest is the h-shaped η in l. 5, as opposed to the H-shaped ones at ll. 13 and 19, and the shape of the second and third κ in l. 5 ($\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$). Notice also the larger size of the ϵ at ll. 1, 3 (both times with *ekthesis*) and 20, 22. The length of each line is not constant; cf. especially ll. 3-4, 7-8, 11-12, 14, 18-19. Traces of the points where the document was folded can be discerned at ll. 7 and 14-15. The letter was first folded in thirds along its breadth; thereafter the sender and the addressee's names were added on the verso; and finally the letter was folded lengthwise.

In this letter Hermias reminds Apollon about two good friends of his from Kerkephtha in the Athribite nome whom Apollon has already been asked to introduce to Deios, the *basilikos grammateus* of the Athribite. We may assume

¹ I would like to thank Joshua Sosin (Duke) for providing me with digital photographs of the papyrus. The information on the physical characteristics of the papyrus derives from <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/913.html>. Thanks are also due to the editors and the anonymous reader of *BASP* as well as Amphilochios Papathomas for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. The final revisions were completed at the Seminar für Klassische Philologie (Universität Heidelberg) during the tenure of a postdoctoral fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung.

² J.-L. Fournet, "Esquisse d'une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d'après les papyrus," in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier (eds.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive* (Lyon 2009) 26-32.

that Apollon will be travelling to the capital of the Athribite nome; before reaching Athribis, he is asked to stop at Kerkephtha, summon these two friends of Hermias, and take them to Deios. The tone is business-like; Hermias comes quickly to his point without making any reference to the addressee's welfare, as is generally customary at the beginning of letters. Lines 4-5 and 12-14 suggest that Hermias must have already sent a proper letter of introduction to Apollon and that this piece is simply a reminder of that letter. For such a follow-up on a recommendation letter, cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59284 + *PSI* 6.575 (= C.-H. Kim, *Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation* [Missoula 1972] no. 18; 251 BC) and *PSI* 3.59342.1 (= Kim no. 25; 246 BC: καὶ πρότερον γεγραφηκώς | περὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ [υἱοῦ ὅπ]ως ἂν ἐπιστείλῃς). Accordingly, *P.Duke inv.* 913 follows some of the conventions of the letter of recommendation: it mentions the relation between the recommender and the persons recommended (ll. 8-9); the particle οὖν signals the transition from the background information regarding the persons introduced to the request proper (l. 12); a purpose clause signals the recommender's request (l. 15). It is highly probable on account of both the document's shape and its genre that not much is missing. Perhaps a statement to the effect of "if you do so, you will please me" *vel sim.* followed before the typical closing formula. On recommendation letters in general, see Kim, *op.cit.*, and *BGU* 16.2654 (introduction, p. 155); for additions to the letters listed in Kim, see H. Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire* (Königstein 1981) 53-54; to these add *BGU* 15.2654, *BGU* 16.2623, 2647, *P.Graux* 2.22, *P. Nag Hamm.* 78, *P.Horak* 26, *P.Oxy.* 51.3643, *P.Oxy.* 55.3821, *P.Oxy.* 56.3857, *CPR* 25.2, *O.Ber.* 2.123, *P.Köln* 9.365, *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 11, *P.Bodl.* 1.69, *P.Lugd.Bat.* 25.31, and *PSI* 15.1539.

One of the questions raised by this letter concerns the identity of the persons mentioned. From ll. 5-6 (Δεῖ-|ον τὸν ἀδελφόν, "Deios, my colleague") we may surmise that Hermias, the author of this letter, was of equal or higher status with respect to Deios: ἀδελφός = "colleague" aims at evoking a sense of "corporate identity" among members of the administrative elite. This use has not yet been established in the official correspondence of the first century AD; see Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (München-Leipzig 2002) 2:889-890. Consequently, Hermias must have been either a royal scribe himself or a *strategos*; cf. *P.Oxy.* 60.4060.1 (AD 161; a *strategos* addresses another *strategos* as ἀδελφός) and *CPR* 5.3.4 (AD 231-236 a *strategos* addresses a royal scribe as ἀδελφός).

The identification of our Hermias with any of the known Ἐρμίαι who held the office of *strategos* or *basilikos grammateus* is extremely difficult if not impossible because of the lack of corroborative evidence. A royal scribe of

the Arsinoite nome (Themistou meris) by the name Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμίας ὁ καὶ Μεγαλόννυμος is recorded at SB 24.16094.12, 26 (= *PEirene* 1.6; AD 212/3-218/9; Kruse, *op.cit.*, no. 71); this Hermias has been identified with Ἑρμίας ὁ καὶ Μεγαλόννυμος, royal scribe of the Bubastite nome; for the identification, see Kruse, *op.cit.*, no. 94; cf. further *P.Bub.* 1.4.7.7n. and Kruse, *op.cit.*, 2:889 and 998, n. 136. A Φλαύιος Ἑρμίας is recorded as the royal scribe of the Mendesian nome at PSI 3.229.8, 30 (AD 173; Kruse, *op.cit.*, no. 150; on the date, see Kruse, *op.cit.*, 2:1010 with n. 247). As for *strategoí*, the following are attested: (1) Ἑρμίας: Cynopolite nome; *POxy.* 2.244.18 (AD 23). (2) Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμείας Ἡλιοδώρου: Hermopolite; *PLond.* 5.1651.4 (AD 363). (3) Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμείας: Oxyrhynchite nome; *POxy.* 1.60.1 (AD 323), where he is referred to as Ἑρμείας only; *POxy.* 12.1430.2, 25 (AD 324), where he is also referred to as nome Ἑρμείας; *POxy.* 43.3125.2 (AD 325), where he is referred to as Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμείας; at PSI 3.201.2 (AD 327) he is mentioned as ἀπὸ στρατηγῶν; cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*, p. 111. For his other offices, see *POxy.* 54, appendix 1, pp. 226-227. (4) Αὐρήλιος Ἡράκλειος ὁ καὶ Ἑρμείας: Oxyrhynchite nome; *POxy.* 36.2764.2-3 (AD 277). (5) Ἰούλιος Ἑρμίας: Oxyrhynchite nome; *POxy.* 41.2960.17 (AD 97); cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *op.cit.*, p. 93. (6) Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἑρμίας: Arsinoite nome (Ἡρακλείδου μερίς); *PStras.* 4.210.1 (AD 90?-96?); *P.Vind. Worp.* 1.18, 21, 27 (AD 90?-96?), where he is referred to as Ἑρμίας only; *PFam. Tebt.* 15.85 (AD 94-98), where he is mentioned as Κλαυδίῳ Ἑρμιά τῳ στρατηγῇσαντι; for the dates of all three documents, see Bastianini-Whitehorne, *op.cit.*, p. 13. (7) Κλαύδιος Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Ἑρμίας: Oxyrhynchite nome; PSI 9.1033.12-13 (after AD 166; cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *op.cit.*, p. 98); PSI 5.447.1 (AD 166-167); *PFouad.* 1.36.19 Δημητρίῳ τῳ καὶ Ἑρμιά στρατηγῳ Ὁξυρυγχείτου (AD 167; cf. HGV); *P.Thomas* 12.16 (after AD 167/8; cf. HGV); at *POxy.* 70.4779.1-2 he is referred to as [... Κλαυδίῳ Δημητρίῳ τῳ καὶ] Ἑρμιά γενομ(ένῳ) στρ(ατηγῳ). In view of the date of the papyrus (on which see below), out of these Ἑρμῖαι only Φλαύιος Ἑρμίας and Κλαύδιος Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Ἑρμίας are plausible candidates for our Ἑρμίας.

The Duke papyrus provides two new pieces of information. First, it mentions a village Kerkephtha in the Athribite nome; thus far Kerkephtha was attested only in the Memphite and Heracleopolite nomes (cf. ll. 9-10n.). Second, it attests a royal scribe in the Athribite nome named Deios (cf. l. 20n.).

This letter can be dated to the middle of the second century AD. The hand bears some similarity with that of BGU 5.1210 (Gnomon of the Idios Logos; after AD 149); see Seider, *Pal.Gr.Pap.* 1, p. 75, pl. 22. In support of this dating, we might cite παραθῆ “introduce, recommend” in ll. 18-19 which verb is used instead of συνιστάναι in that period; cf. C.W. Keyes, “The Greek Letter of In-

troductio[n],” *AJP* 56 (1935) 42 (cf. also p. 35, nos. 27-28, to which add *P.Brem.* 7; II AD), and the use of ἀδελφόν = “colleague” noted above. Nothing can be said about the location in which the letter was drafted, as we cannot identify the author of the letter with any certainty.

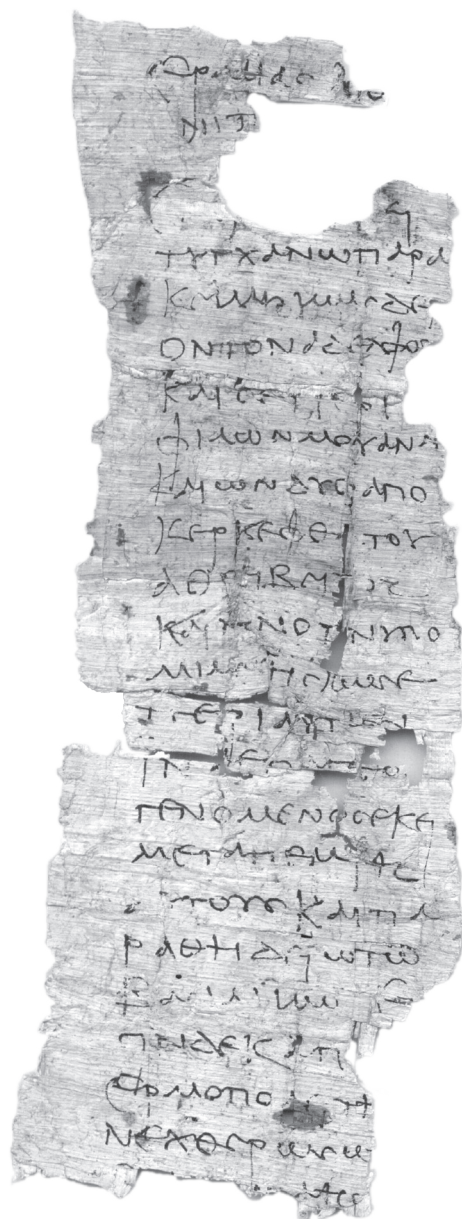
→ Ἑρμίας Ἀπό[λλω-]
 νι π[λειστα χαί(ρειν).]
 Ἐγ[ρ]αψ[ά σοι ἐ]πεὶ
 τυγχάνω παρα-
 5 κεκληκώς Δεῖ-
 ον τὸν ἀδελφόν
 καὶ σε περὶ
 φίλων μου ἀναγ-
 καίων δύο ἀπὸ
 10 Κερκεφθᾶ τοῦ
 Ἀθρειβεΐτου.
 καὶ νῦν οὖν ὑπο-
 μιμνήσκω σε
 περὶ αὐτῶν,
 15 ἵνα ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ
 γενόμενος ἐκεῖ
 μεταπέμψῃ
 αὐτοὺς καὶ πα-
 ραθῇ Δεῖω τῷ
 20 βασιλικῷ. ε[ἰ-]
 σὶν δὲ Καπ[2-4]
 Ἑρμοπολείτη[ς]
 Νεχθερώς Ω[±2]
 . . [±7]ψησ
 - - - - -

verso

→ (m²) Παρὰ Ἑρμίου ἀ[δ]ελφοῦ Ἀπόλλω[νι] . vacat (m²?) φίλο . [

11 l. Ἀθριβίτου 15 ἵνα *par.* 22 l. Ἑρμοπολίτης 25 *fort.* φιλοσ[όφω]

“Hermias (sends) to Apollon his many greetings. I am writing to you because I happen to have asked (5) my colleague Deios and you concerning two of my very close friends from Kerkephtha (10) in the Athribite nome. And now I am reminding you about them (15) so that, when you duly arrive at that



Recto



Verso

place, you summon and introduce them to Deios the royal scribe (20). And these are Kap[...] from Hermopolis and Nechtheros from ...

(Verso) From brother Hermias to Apollon (his) friend(?) (or: the philosopher?)”

1-2 Ἀπό[λλω-]|νι: the name is restored from the verso.

2 π[λείστα χαί(ρειν)]: the greeting formula might also have been abbreviated π[λείστα χαίρ(ειν)], and π[λίστα could also have been written.

3 ἔγ[ρ]αψ[ἀ σοι ἐ]πεί: cf. *P.Mich.* 3.217.11-12 (AD 297) ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς | [ἔγραψ] ἀ σοι ἐπεί ...

3-5 ἐ]πεί | τυγχάνω παρα-|κεκληκώς: for παρακαλεῖν in recommendation letters, cf. *P.Oxy.* 2.292.5-7 (= J.L. White, *Light from Ancient Letters* [Philadelphia 1986] no. 79 = B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit* [Uppsala 1925] no. 18; ca. AD 25) διὸ παρακαλῶ σε μετὰ πάσης δυνά-|μεως ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμέ-|νον.

5-6 Δεῖον τὸν ἀδελφόν: it seems that the τ has been corrected. For ἀδελφόν, see the introduction above, p. 52.

7-9 περὶ φίλων μου ἀναγ-|καίων δύο: the relationship between the recommender and the persons recommended is often stated in letters of introduction; cf. Keyes, *op.cit.*, pp. 32-36 (nos. 5, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 30), to whose examples we may add *P.Lond.* 7.1945.1-2 (before 6 May 257 BC), *P.Lond.* 7.1946.2 (ca. 257 BC; read ἐστιν ἡμῶν φίλ[ος; cf. *BL* 11:123), *P.Mich.* 1.33.2-4 (254 BC), *P.Zen.Pestm.* 67.4-6 (253 BC), *PSI* 4.383.1-2 (ca. 248/7 BC), *P.Sorb.* 1.49.1-2 (222 BC; cf. *BL* 12:258: W. Clarysse proposes reading in l. 2 γ[νωρί]μων· ἀ[γνωμ]ονεῖ instead of γ[εωρ]γῶν· ἀ[. . .] . νει), *P.Lond.* 7.2026.2-4 (mid-III BC), *P.Lond.* 7.2027.1-2 (mid-III BC), *P.Congr.* XV 6.2-3 (mid-III BC; in supplement), *P.Köln* 9.365.2-3 (II BC), *BGU* 8.1871.3-6 (61 BC), *BGU* 16.2654.2-3 (6 BC), *P.NYU* 2.18.3-4 (AD 6).

9-10 ἀπὸ Κερκεφθᾶ: Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* 3:111, s.v. Kerkephtha, lists a village with this name in the Memphite nome (*P.Aberd.* 66.9 [after AD 21], *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.21.7 [before AD 155/6; cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *op.cit.*, p. 79], and *P.Lond.* 1.99.26 [IV AD: 370/1?; cf. HGV]), where however at l. 47 it is spelled Κερκεπ[τα]), and one in the Heracleopolite nome (*P.Oxy.* 16.2017.11 [V AD] where the editor accents Κερκέφθα).

— ἀπό: does not indicate here origin or motion away from a place (cf. ll. 21-23 where we find out the origin of Hermias' two friends), but that the two

individuals about whom Hermias is writing currently dwell, work, or have interests in Kerkephtha; cf. *CPR* 25.9.7, 9, 10.

11 Ἀθραιβίτου: Athribites is the tenth nome of Lower Egypt (capital: Athribis, Tell Atrib or Kom el-Atrib); for the papyrological documentation of the Athribite nome, see *CPR* 23, p. 66 with nn. 4-5.

The nome's name is spelled Ἀθριβ(ίτου), as in *CPR* 23.9.2 (AD 216/7), *P.Oxy.* 12.1458.1 (AD 216/7?), *Stud.Pal.* 22.60.1 (II/III AD). Earlier sources offer Ἀθαρραβίτης for the nome's name (Hecat. *FGrH* 1 F 304, Herodian. p. 469 Lentz, Steph.Byz. p. 33 = α 79 Billerbeck) and Ἀθλιβίτης for an inhabitant of Athribis (Nicanor, *fr.* 2 Müller, Steph.Byz. p. 35 = α 81 Billerbeck, *Et.M.* p. 25). On Athribis, see Calderini-Daris, *op.cit.*, 1.1:33-34, *Suppl.* 1:12, and *Suppl.* 4:12; *Lex.Äg.* 1:519-24; K. Myśliwiec, "Athribis – eine hellenistische Stadt im Nildelta," *Antike Welt* 25 (1994) 35-46. On the cults and coins of this region, see A. Geisser and M. Weber, "Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Nomenprägungen VII," *ZPE* 157 (2006) 296-299. Egyptian documents related to the earlier history of Athribis are collected in P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique* (Cairo 1978).

12 οὖν: see Kim, *op.cit.*, p. 61, for the use of this particle in recommendation letters to signal the transition from the background information to the request clause (here, the reminder of the request).

15 ἵνα: for the "inorganic" diaeresis, see Turner, *GMAW*², p. 10. For the use of a purpose clause in the request section of a recommendation letter, see Kim, *op.cit.*, p. 64, 82-86.

– ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ: suggested by one of the editors. It occurs in other, roughly contemporary letters, such as those from the Apollonios archive: *P.Brem.* 65.5, *P.Giss.Apoll.* 15.8-9 and 16.6, *P.Ryl.* 2.233.2, and *SB* 10.10278.4.

16 ἐκεῖ: i.e. at Kerkephtha.

18-19 παραθῆ: "introduce"; this verb is often found in letters of recommendation; cf. *P.Giss.* 88.5 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 41 = Kim, *op.cit.*, no. 52; AD 113/4-118/9; cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *op.cit.*, p. 120) and LSJ s.v. παρατίθημι B 2a. W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed. by F.W. Danker; Chicago 2000) s.v. 3b: "entrust someone to the care or protection of someone" (cf. D.S. 16.2.2, 17.23.5, *PSI* 1.96.2). See also Lampe s.v. 6: "commend, introduce a person by letter," and Keyes, *op.cit.*, p. 39. At *P.Oxy.* 14.1663.8 (II-III AD) παρατίθεμαι is translated "put somebody into someone's charge."

20 βασιλικῶ: *sc.* γραμματεῖ. In the Julio-Claudian period the *basilikos grammateus* had become the second most important official in the nome administration after the *strategos*. He oversaw the nome's financial organization, being in charge of accounting, controlling the nome's resources, and the revenue from taxation. Together with the *strategos* he authorized payments from the public treasury, inspected the arable land, and sold or leased public land. He also controlled the access to the office of the priest as well as matters related to the property of temples. On the *basilikos grammateus*, see Kruse's two volumes mentioned above; the findings of his study are summarized in 2:955-957. A *basilikos grammateus* of the Athribite nome is mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 12.1458.1 (AD 216/7; Ἀϥρηλίωι Ἀ[. . .]γι). Our royal scribe Δεῖος appears neither in Bastianini- Whitehorse, *op.cit.*, nor in Kruse.

21 Καπ[2-4]: The space in the papyrus suggests that two to four letters are missing. A number of names could fit this space: Καπαῖς (*P.Hamb.* 1.60.2 [AD 90], Hermopolis); Καπαεῖς (*P.Abinn.* 69.r.2.42, 43 [mid IV AD], Philadelphia?); Καπεῖς (gen. Καπεῖτος) (*BGU* 9.1900.4.73, 5.97, 7.127 [AD 196-198], Theadelphia, *SB* 14.11433.4 [III AD?], Tebtynis); Καπιλᾶς (*P.Bour.* 42.r.13.298 [AD 166/7], Hierakonchos); Καπίς (*SB* 14.11305.3 [II/III AD], Oxyrhynchus; *O.Douch* 2.172.2 [IV-early V AD], Kysis (Oasis Magna); *O.Mich.* 2.943.3 [early IV AD], Karanis); and less likely Καπίτων: e.g., *P.Hamb.* 1.88.1 (II AD, Philadelphia), *P.Fouad* 1.61.6 (after AD 157, Tebtynis), *PSI* 9.1065.4, 26 (AD 157, Oxyrhynchus), *P.Athen.* 43.v.2.6 (ca. AD 131, Arsinoite nome), *P.Strasb.* 4.300.fr1.r.1.17 (II AD, Apollonopolis).

23 Νεχθερῶς: = Ἰσχυρίων; cf. P. van Minnen, "A Change of Names in Roman Egypt after A.D. 202? A Note on *P.Amst.* I 72," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 89. This name is attested at *P.Count.* 19.6 (III BC, Gurob), *P.Oxy.* 50.3587.2.29 (end I/ beginning II AD, Oxyrhynchite nome), *P.Ryl.* 2.220.50 (AD 134-138, Thmuis), *P.Bru.* 1.21.22 (after AD 175/6 or 207/8, Prosopite nome), *P.Hamb.* 1.38.21, 23 (3 Oct., AD 182, Letopolite nome), *P.Princ.* 3.130.18 (AD 198-209, Thebaid? Oxyrhynchite nome? = Νεχθερ(ῶς); cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Corrections on some Princeton Papyri," *ZPE* 68 [1987] 145, n. 6), *P.Flor.* 3.379.r.fr3. 31, 34, 43 (before AD 113; provenance unknown), *P.Ryl.* 2.432.5 (ca. AD 164/5; Thmuis), *SB* 14.12139.4.16 (II/III AD; Oxyrhynchite nome). We meet also the following forms: Νεχθερᾶς (gen. Νεχθερᾶτος) at *BGU* 7.1514.6 (193-187 BC; cf. H. Cadell and G. Le Rider, *Prix du blé et numéraire dans l'Égypte Lagide de 305 à 173* [Bruxelles 1997] 47-48; Philadelphia); Νεχθεραῦς (gen. Νεχθεραῦτος) at *BGU* 7.1514.1, 7, 11. (30BC-AD14). Νεχθερώους (or Νεχθερωῦς) at *SEG* 40.1568.59, 60 (220 BC, Leontopolis), *P.Heid.* 6.374.2.52 (ca. 195/4 BC, Arsinoite nome), *P.Amst.* 1.72.3, 21 (AD 202-212 AD, Delta?), and Νεχθερώεις at

P.Oxy. 59.3981.24 (AD 312, Oxyrhynchite nome). At *P.Oxy.* 3.500.3 (AD 130; written in the Athribite nome) a certain [Νεκ]φερῶς is mentioned. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum* lists only Νεχθεραῦς and Νεχθεραῦ. Notice finally that at *P.Grenf.* 2.33.5 Νεχθεραῦς is the name of a deity (Νεχθεραῦτι θεοῦ μεγάλου); cf. also *BGU* 16.2577.r.6.75n.

23-24 Ω[: the parallel with Καπ[2-4] Ἑρμοπολείτη[ς] suggests that we should expect an ethnic. One might suggest Ὠ[φίτ-]ης, on which see Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* 5:182-183, with *Suppl.* 2:248, *Suppl.* 3:167, and *Suppl.* 4:147, and A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey* (Köln-Leuven 2009) 379-381 (= Trismegistos Online Publications 4). Ὠφίτης would accord well with the fact that the name Νεχθερῶς occurs in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Alternatively, one might propose Ὠβεθίτης, but with some reservation: although it seems to fit the traces in l. 25, which might yield Ὠ[β-]|ε[θίτης] or Ὠ[βε-]|θ[ίτης], it is not certain whether in its only other occurrence at *BGU* 6.1293 (88/7 BC, 52/1 BC, 1BC-1AD) it is an ethnic; cf. H. Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Köln-Leuven 2008) 346 (= Trismegistos Online Publications 2).

24]ψησ: γρά]ψης or πέμ]ψης?, perhaps in a phrase to the effect of “and if you write to me for some similar business, I shall gladly oblige”; cf. *P.Mert.* 2.62.10-12: καὶ σὺ δὲ περὶ ὧν ἐὰν αἰρήῃ σήμανον, καὶ ἀνόκως ποιήσω πρὸς αὐτῶν ὅμοια (with *BL* 4:49).

25 (verso) παρὰ ... Ἀπόλλω[νι] appears to have been written by a different hand, but φιλο . [is closer to the hand of the recto than the rest of the address. There are some traces of ink after Ἀπόλλω[νι]. Φιλοσ[όφω] was suggested to me by one of the editors.

Petition to Appoint an *epitropos*: A New Document from the Archive of Aurelius Adelphios

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Abstract

Edition of P.Vindob. G 15067, a petition for the appointment of a caretaker. The officials addressed include Aurelius Adelphios, gymnasiarch of Hermopolis in 321 CE, among whose papers the petition was no doubt found.

Introduction¹

The present document is a petition of Aurelius Harpokra- addressed to the well known Aurelius Adelphios, son of Adelphios, and the other gymnasiarch(s) of Hermopolis. The petition first paraphrases (rather than quotes; note the use of the third person in ll. 4 and 5) an earlier petition, filed by a third party, but essentially making the same request as that of Aurelius Harpokra-: the appointment of an(other) *epitropos* (*curator*) to take care of the affairs of several boys, apparently because of an absence abroad (of their original *epitropos*?). It seems as if Aurelius Harpokra- was appointed *epitropos* in consequence of this earlier petition, but that he too is on his way out and is therefore himself looking for a replacement. He goes on to quote (rather than paraphrase) an earlier petition of his own, addressed to the *praeses Thebaidos*, introduced by ἔστι δέ in line 9. Lines 10-11 may give additional details of the situation: one

¹ I would like to thank Klaas Worp, who commented on an earlier transcription of the text and provided me with many useful corrections and readings, and Bernhard Palme, who kindly consulted the original document in Vienna to help clarify some difficult readings. Above all I am grateful to Peter van Minnen, with whom I studied this text at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 2008-09 and who read various subsequent drafts of this paper and provided help and encouragement at every stage of this edition. Thanks are also due to the anonymous readers of *BASP*, who provided many helpful suggestions and saved me from numerous errors. All remaining errors in transcription or interpretation are my own.

of the boys may be about to come of age and take control of his share of the inheritance, leaving only the others in need of a guardian. In addition, Aurelius Harpokra-’s petition to the *praeses Thebaidos* relates recent developments that have threatened the property of the boys. Evidently a certain Ibois, no doubt a native Egyptian from one of the villages in the Hermopolite nome, has stolen the produce from a plot of land belonging to the boys. The petition therefore simultaneously requests that Ibois be punished (ἐνθύνας ἀπαιτῆσαι Ἰβόιν ὧν ἀφῆρπασεν, l. 15). To the quotation of his petition to the *praeses Thebaidos* Aurelius Harpokra- appends the positive answer (*subscriptio* = Greek ὑπογραφή) he received from him (ll. 17-19). In this *subscriptio* the *praeses Thebaidos* seems to refer to the relevant law(s) applicable to the situation and stresses how the emperor(s) has/have been mindful of the danger involved when their *epitropos* is abroad. The second part of Aurelius Harpokra-’s request, the punishment of Ibois, is not mentioned by the *praeses Thebaidos* in his response.

The document is a valuable addition to our corpus of texts regarding Aurelius Adelphios, son of Adelphios, one of the leading members of Hermopolite society in the early decades of the fourth century CE. Aurelius Adelphios is the central figure of a significant archive of some thirty-nine texts published as CPR 17A, as well as the husband of Aurelia Charite, the equally illustrious resident of Hermopolis, with a surviving archive or her own (*P.Charite*).

Text

Medium-brown papyrus, almost fully preserved from the left margin of the text to the left side of the roll; badly damaged at the right with none of the right side of the text fully preserved. The reconstruction of line 16 shows that the approximate width of the original text was about 24 cm. There are many lacunae throughout the text. The text is preserved to the last line. The first line is not preserved; the consular date at the beginning of the text would add just one more line. Left margin: 2.5-2.75 cm.; bottom margin: 3.5 cm. The writing is parallel to the fibers of the papyrus. The verso is blank.

P.Vindob. G 15067

H x W = 16 x 12 cm

Hermopolis,
27 October 321 CE?

	[]
	[Αὐρηλίους Ἀ]δελφίω .[]
	γυμνασιάρχους βου[λευταῖς Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς (μεγάλης καὶ) λαμπροτάτης]
	παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρπο[κ]ρ[α]
	σαντος ἑαυτὸν ἄτερ μισοπ[ονηρίας]
5	ἀνήνεγκε διὰ λιβέλλων τ[]

- τὸν κατὰ νόμους κ []
 ἐπίτροπ[ο]ν ἀποδείξα[ι] . [.] . . . []
 ἀποδ[η]μία ἀξιῶν \τοῖ[ς] υἱοῖς/ ἔδ[. .] . μου[] κατα-
 σ[τή]σαι τούτοις. ἔστι δέ· γ . []
 10 π . . μέλλων τὴν μοῖρ[αν] vo-
 σφισ[ά]ντων διμοῖρον . []
 νος Ἰβόις τις πανοῦργος εἰς []
 τὰ ὅσπρεα τῆς γῆς ἀρπάξειν ὅθεν κατὰ τὴν ξυλ[]
 ἀξιῶν κελεῦσαι ἐπίτροπον κατασταθῆναι τοῖς υἱοῖς []
 15 εὐθύνας ἀπαιτῆσαι Ἰβόιν ὧν ἀφῆρπασεν ἐμ[]
 χάριτας τῇ περὶ πάντα σου πρ[ο]νοία ὁμολο[γήσω. διευτύχει. ὑπατείας τῶν
 δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ]
 τὸ ζ/καὶ Λικιν<ι>ου τοῦ ἐπιφανε[στάτο]υ [Καίσαρος τὸ β]
 ὑφέστηκεν τοῖς παῖσι ὑπομνησ[] κιν-
 δύνου μεμνημένοι ἀπ[ο]δημί[] ἕως τούτων. διευτύχετε.]
 20 ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης Φαῶφι λ⁻. [(m²) Αὐρηλῖος Ἀρποκρα-1-4
 ἐπιδέδωκα.]

12 ἱβόις 15 ἱβόιν pap.

“To the Aurelii Adelphios ... gymnasiarchs and council members (of Hermopolis the illustrious), from Aurelius Harpokra-... since ... himself (?) without hatred of evil... (5) he introduced through petitions ... the ... in accordance with the laws ... appoint a guardian ... abroad, asking for the sons ... to appoint for them ... (The petition) is as follows: (10) ... about to ... the share ... depriving two-thirds ... Iboīs, a certain evildoer ... he has taken the produce of the land at the time of the cutting of the wood (?) ... asking you to order a guardian to be appointed for the (sons) ... (15) to demand accounts from Iboīs for the things he stole from... I will pledge my gratitude to your foresight in all things (Farewell. In the consulship of our lords Licinius Augustus) for the 6th time and Licinius the most manifest (Caesar for the 2nd time) ... he has supported the children ... by being mindful of the danger while abroad ... (The petition ends here. Farewell.) (20) In the aforementioned consulship, Phaophi 30. (I, Aurelius Harpokrat-, have submitted [this petition].)”

The full consular date would have preceded the first line of our text, and it is to this date that line 20 refers. The document may, therefore, date to either 27 October 321 or any year thereafter, but it is probable that it comes from 321.

1 [Αὐρηλῖος Ἀ]δελφίω: there is the trace of another letter following Aurelius Adelphios' name, which is certainly not τ, excluding the possibility that his *alias* (τῷ καὶ Διονυσόδωρῳ) followed. Another title, perhaps ἐ[νάρχῳ

πρυτάνει or προέδρῳ, is a distinct possibility. Aurelius Adelphios was in fact the *enarchos prytanis*, the president in office of the council of Hermopolis, in 321 (CPR 17A.20 and 21). The name(s) of one or more of the other gymnasiarchs would have followed, and we know that Theophanes, the archrival of Aurelius Adelphios, was gymnasiarch in 321 as well (CPR 17A.18). For relations between the two men, see A. Jördens, “Familienfehden in Hermupolis – Theophanes und Adelphios,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 101-117. If the petition is addressed to Aurelius Adelphios and one other gymnasiarch in their capacity as the twin *syndikoi* of the city (see the note on l. 2), the name of the other *syndikos* in 321 would have followed in the lacuna and then perhaps ἀμφοτέροις.

2 γυμνασιάρχους βου[λευταῖς; Aurelius Adelphios was gymnasiarch in the years 316 (CPR 17A.6), possibly 317 (*P.Charite* 3.1n), 320 (CPR 17A.9b), and 321 (CPR 17A.16.2, 17A.17a and b, and 17A.19).

It is unclear in what capacity Aurelius Adelphios and the other gymnasiarch(s) are addressed by Aurelius Harpokra-, and why the document is addressed to them instead of the *exactor*. Maybe they served as the two *syndikoi* in 321. In this case συνδίκους πόλεως would follow the (shorter) title of Hermopolis at the end of line 2. In the period from the 3rd to the first half of the 4th century CE, the συνδίκους πόλεως appear in the papyri as a college of two officials from the bouleutic class concerned mostly with financial, administrative, and judicial issues (they are first attested in CPR 6.73, 222-235 CE, and last attested in *P.Stras.* 4.296.v.17 from 29 October 326 CE). They could represent fellow members of the bouleutic class and other citizens as legal counsel. The *syndikoi* were also responsible for making sure that offences against public order, such as robbery or violence, were prosecuted. See B. Kramer *ZPE* 69 (1987) 149-150, n. 5, and E. Seidl, *RE* 4A.2 (1932) 1332-1333, s.v. “σύνδικος in den griechischen Papyri.” At some point in the first half of the fourth century CE the college of two was dismantled and the juridical duties fell to one official, the ἑκδικος (first attested in *P.Oxy.* 44.3195.27, from 13-14? June 331 CE) or, confusingly, σύνδικος (first attested in *P.Freib.* 2.11 = SB 3.6294, from 336 CE), an office corresponding to the Latin *defensor civitatis*. See further B. Rees, “The *Defensor Civitatis* in Egypt,” *JJP* 6 (1952) 73-102; J. Lallemand, *L’administration civile de l’Egypte de l’avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse* (284-382) (Brussels 1964) 114-118; A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971) 46-52; and V. Mannio, *Ricerche sul Defensor Civitatis* (Milan 1984) 13-68.

The twin *syndikoi* are otherwise addressed in petitions in such matters as the incitement of a slave to escape (SB 18.14056, Hermopolis 326). They also are attested in other documents as having a role in appointing *epitropoi*, as in *P.Oxy.* 33.2665, a report of property registrars from ca. 305-306 CE

(ἐπεστείλατε ἡμῖν κεκελευκέναι Αὐρήλιον Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίτροπον ...). Unfortunately, Aurelius Adelpbios has not previously been attested as having held the office of *syndikos*, and we therefore cannot confirm whether he and his colleague were addresses in that capacity in our text.

– Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς (μεγάλης καὶ) λαμπροτάτης: in this period the city name with its epithets occurs as both Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς λαμπροτάτης and Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ λαμπροτάτης. The longer title may fit better with the maximum width of the document as restored in line 16. For a discussion of the changes in epithets of Hermopolis over time, see N. Litinas, “Epithets of Hermou polis of the Thebais,” *APF* 41 (1995) 66-84.

3 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρπο[κ]ρ[α]: this name could be restored as Ἀρποκρατίωνος, Ἀρποκράτους, or Ἀρποκρά. There is no Aurelius Harpokration, Aurelius Harpokrates, or Aurelius Harpokras otherwise attested in Hermopolis at this time, although there is a contemporary Aurelius Harpokration in Philadelphieia in the Arsinoite Nome (*SB* 5.7621). Aurelius Harpokration is a relatively common name (cf. *SB* 6.9535, 9543, 5.7621; *P.Fam. Tebt.* 55.3.7; *P.Oxy.* 2125, 2348; *P.Giss. Univ. Bibl.* 52; *O. Tait* 2.1820) and probably the most likely restoration here. Aurelius Harpokra-’s title, if he had any, would have followed and probably τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

4 -σαντος: this appears to be the ending of a genitive absolute construction with ἐαυτόν as its object.

– ἐαυτόν: or, possibly, ἐαυτῶ.

– ἄτερ μισοπ[ονηρίας. μισοπονηρία, lit. “hatred of evil,” is common in the papyri, but the phrase here does not occur elsewhere. In fact, ἄτερ for ἀνεύ is extremely rare in documentary papyri (it occurs only in *BGU* 16.2631, *Chrest. Wilck.* 439, *P.Dubl.* 16, and *P.Oxy.* 6.936) but fits the penchant for *gehobene Sprache* evident in petitions from Late Antiquity generally. The word μισοπονηρία is commonly used in an appeal to the justice of an official; cf. *P.Sakaon* 38 l.13-14, a petition to a prefect from 312, where the petitioner writes: εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ [τῆς σῆς μισο]πνήρου ἀνδρείας. Here someone (the original *epitropos* of the boys?) is said to have ... himself without the appropriate hatred of evil – perhaps he had not shown zero tolerance for evil and allowed a situation to develop (mentioned in the lacuna, no doubt) that was detrimental to the boys’ property? He then had to have recourse to filing a petition (see the next note).

5 ἀνήνεγκε διὰ λιβέλλων: this construction is not paralleled exactly elsewhere in the papyri, but ἀναφέρω is often used for “introducing” petitions. Cf. πάντα γὰρ ἐσυκοφάντησαν δι’ οὗ ἀνήνεγκαν λιβέλλου ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαρχικὴν

ἐξουσίαν (SB 16.12692.25); οὗ ἀνήνεγκα λιβέλλο[υ] ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Πομπωνίου Μητροδώρου (P.Oxy. 1.66.17-19); and ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνηνεγχ[θέντα λ]ιβέλλα (SB 16.12814.15). In these kinds of constructions the petition is itself the object of the verb, but ἀνήνεγκε here does not have it as an object (maybe he merely “introduced” or “petitioned” – through a petition).

5 διὰ λιβέλλων: this is a translation of the Latin legal formula *per libellos*. In civil procedure of the later Roman Empire, a *libellus* (petition, complaint) was the beginning of proceedings called *per libellum*. The *libellus* contained only the bare facts of the complaint and a request for charges to be brought against the opposing party (Lat. *postulatio*). In Roman Egypt, the *libellus* was usually addressed to the local governor, the *praeses* (Gr. ἑπαρχος or ἡγεμών), who would reply to the petitioner about the claim through a short note at the bottom of the petition. If the complaint was deemed valid, it led to official charges through a judicial officer (Lat. *exsecutor* = Gr. ἐξάκτωρ). The defendant then had to respond to the charges, also through *libelli*, within a specified amount of time. See further M. Kaser and K. Hackel, *Der römische Zivilprozessrecht* (2nd ed.; München 1996) 570-576, 634-636. For a complete list of petitions from this period, see Kramer, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 155-161. For the structure of petitions see J. Thomas, “Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt,” in *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983) 369-382; R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546.

In most documents of this type the formula ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον + the name of the official addressed follows.

6 κατὰ νόμους: for this phrase cf. CPR 17A.15.11, a petition of Aurelius Adelphios to the *exaktor*: κατὰ πάντας τοὺς νό[μ]ο[υ]ς ... Cf. also PSI 5.451. fr2: εἰ κατὰ νόμους ἐ[στί].

– κ : κύριον is perhaps an expected reading here, but it cannot be confirmed. Even reading a letter preceding the κ is possible. A κύριος would be a guardian in the sense of the Lat. *tutor*, but this text rather concerns an ἐπίτροπος, a *curator* appointed to manage the landholdings of an absentee landowner. See next note.

7 ἐπίτροπ[ο]ν: = Lat. *curator* or *tutor*. In this text we appear to be dealing with a *curator*, an individual appointed to manage the landholdings of the absentee father or other responsible adult family member of the children mentioned later in the document. The children are clearly underage, though it is unclear whether they are under 14 or 25. See R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in Light of the Papyri* (New York 1944) 119-127; N. Lewis, “Ἀφῆλιξ before and after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*,” *BASP* 16 (1979) 117-120; D. Hagedorn, “Noch einmal zum Volljährigkeitsalter in Ägypten nach

der *Constitutio Antoniniana*,” *ZPE* 113 (1996) 224-226; and A. Arjava, “Die römische Vormundschaft und das Volljährigkeitsalter in Ägypten,” *ZPE* 126 (1999) 202-204.

8 ἀξιῶν: for parallels of this use of ἀξιῶν see *P.Oxy.* 43.3126.9 and 18 and Kramer, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 155-159.

– ἰδ[. .] . : ἰδ[ιου]ς or ἰδ[ι]φ. Both are difficult readings.

9 ἔστι δέ: this introduces the quotation of the earlier petition of Aurelius Harpokra- himself. This would have started with name of the *praeses*. Bernhard Palme, who graciously consulted the original document in Vienna, suggested that at a stretch Ἄντ[] (e.g., the first letters of the name Antonius) is legible. One Antonius Gregorius is indeed attested as *praeses* around 314 (*CPR* 1.233 and *P.Panop.* 23), but Valerius Victorinianus is attested as *praeses* in 321, which is the date of the earlier petition (l. 17), and Οὐαλ cannot be read. For the dating of Valerius Victorinianus, cf. *P.Vindob. Worp*, p. 74, with *Tyche* 1 (1986) 193. The name of the addressee, the *praeses* of the Thebaid, would be followed by the petitioner’s name: παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρα- son of ... (possibly abbreviated).

10 μέλλων τὴν μοῖρ[αν]: a possible scenario here is that one of the sons has come of age and is about to take control of his share of the inheritance.

11 νοσφιζ[ά]ντων: **νοσφιζόντων is also possible, but the aorist participle is more likely, and there is hardly space for ζο.**

– δῖμοιρον: this may suggest that there are three sons sharing an inheritance.

12 Ἰβοῖς: Ibois is an Egyptian name particularly common in the Hermapolite nome. It occurs in several other documents from the archive of Aurelius Adelphios: *CPR* 17A.4 (as a patronymic) and *CPR* 17A.9b, where an Ibois from the village of Taruthis is mentioned as one of the ringleaders of a group of villagers forcibly stealing the produce from a plot of οὐσιακὴ γῆ of Aurelius Adelphios under circumstances similar to those in this document. There is no way to confirm the identification of the Ibois of the present document with the troublemaker Ibois of *CPR* 17A.4.

– τις πανούργος: note the strong sense of contempt in this expression. The tension between the landowners of the city and the native Egyptians of the surrounding *komai* is particularly conspicuous in the archive of Aurelius Adelphios. Compare the usage of πανούργος in this document to a petition submitted by Aurelius Adelphios to the *exaktor* in the same year about a similar charge: ὦν ἐπέδωκα λιβέλλων περὶ τινων κακούργων (*CPR* 17A.15) and the description of another incident where Aurelius Adelphios had his

produce forcibly stolen by a gang from a local village, derisively described as acting with the “shamelessness of villagers”: κωμητικῇ αὐθαδία χρησάμεν[οι] ἐπὶ λθον (CPR 17A 9b.14).

13 ξυλ[: there are three possibilities for restoration here: (1) ξυλοκοπίαν “at the time of the cutting of wood”; cf. *P.Lille* 1.5.49 (3rd BCE), *PSI* 4.323 (3rd BCE); (2) ξυλολογείαν “at the time of collecting wood”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 4.729.33 (2nd CE); or (3) ξυλαμὴν “at the time of sowing, planting” (e.g. χόρτου, λινοκαλάμης); cf. *P.Oxy.* 1.102.11 (4th CE). The last, ξυλαμὴν, is the least likely as Ibois must have been accused of stealing the produce at harvest time.

14 τοῖς υἱοῖς: or possibly τοῖς παῖσι as in l. 19, but υἱοῖς seems more likely as the author of the petition already used the phrase in l. 8 and the παῖσι of l. 19 reflects the more general diction of the *hypographe*.

– κατασταθῆναι: this is the usual legal formula for appointing an *epitropos*: cf. ἐκέλευσε γκουράτορα κατασταθῆναι τῇ παιδί τῇ θυγατρὶ Κλαυδί[ανο]ῦ ἐπιτρόπων (*Ch.LA* 41.1187) and *P.Oxy.* 3.487.

15 ἐυθύνας ἀπαιτῆσαι: the phrase ἐυθύνας ἀπαιτῆσαι most closely means “to hold responsible” or “call in to account” as in Demosthenes 18.245: [τῆς στρατηγίας] ξμ’ ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας. Cf. *P.Lond.* 6.1912.64; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.70; *PSI* 10.1160.16.

16 χάριτας τῇ περὶ πάντα σου προνοίᾳ: various iterations of this phrase appear to be standard forms of addressing the governor. Cf. a letter from the *boule* of Hermopolis to the *hegemon*: τῆς σῆς π(ερὶ) πάντα προνοί(ας), δι(ασημότατε) ἡγ(εμών), ἡρτηται (CPR 7.20.10 [after 305 CE]).

– ὁμολο[γήσω: or ὁμολογῶ. This phrase is paralleled widely in the papyri from this period and is a standard formula expressing gratitude: e.g., *P.Amh.* 2.142 (321 CE): χάριτάς σοι τὰς μεγίστας διὰ παντὸς ὁμολογήσω. διευτύχει. Or *P.Neph.* 9 (Alexandria, 4th CE): χάριν ὁμολογῶ τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ, and *P.Ryl.* 2.114.32 (3rd CE): ὅπως . . . τῇ τύχῃ σου χάριτας ὁμολογεῖν δυνηθῶ.

16-17 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ | τὸς καὶ Λικιν<ί>ου τοῦ ἐπιφαν[εστάτο]υ [Καίσαρος τὸ β: *domini nostri Licinius Augustus VI et Licinius nobilissimus Caesar II* were consuls in 321. A date followed in the lacuna.

18 ὑφέστηκεν τοῖς παῖσι: this may well be the beginning of the governor’s *subscriptio*. His response does not have to be introduced with a prescript but begins *medias in res*. The generic shift from υἱοῖς in l. 14 to τοῖς παῖσι indicates that this is the citation of the relevant law. The subject obviously changes between ὑφέστηκεν and μεμνημένοι. It is possible that the first subject is the

law and the second refers to the emperors (or vice versa). For a collection and discussion of *hypographai* to petitions from the 4th century see CPR 17A, “Anhang ‘C,’” pp. 79-80. See also K.A. Worp, “Short Texts from the Main Temple,” in C. Hope and G. Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994-1995 to 1998-1999 Field Seasons* (Oxford 2002) 341-342, no. 8. On *hypographai* in general, see further A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 53-107, and J. Thomas, “*Subscriptiones* to Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt,” in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 1983) 369-382.

– ὑπομνησ[ι]: a form of ὑπομνήσκω or possibly ὑπόμνησις.

19 The *scriptio* would have ended with the τόμ(ου) and κόλ(ληματος) numbers, referencing the roll and the document in the roll.

20 This is the date of the petition to Aurelius Adelphius and the other gymnasiarch(s). The *ekthesis* distinguishes it from the quoted dates above. The change in hand is somewhat speculative. If the hand changed this document was an original. Because the document very likely comes from the same collection of texts that included the archive of Aurelius Adelphios, it is highly likely that this document also comes from his papers and therefore was an original.

A Byzantine Loan of Money

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Abstract

Edition of a sixth-century loan of money with repayment in kind.

This papyrus fragment, measuring 13.5 (H.) x 13.7 (W.) cm, was acquired in 1976 by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden from a Dutch private citizen; it is now kept there under the inventory number RMO 1976/4.36.1 Only the right-hand edge has been preserved more or less intact; the other three sides of the fragment are damaged and incomplete. If the restoration of the formula in l. 3 is correct (see note ad loc.), approximately 40 letters are lost in the lacuna at the left-hand side of the papyrus. Furthermore, there is some damage in l. 3 (by ↔ folding), while a dark spot occurs on the left-hand side of ll. 6-7. At the bottom, some fibers need to be straightened.

The precise provenance of the text is unknown; an Upper Egypt provenance is indicated by the mention of talents.² Furthermore, there is a vague indication that it may come from the Hermopolite nome (see ll. 10-11n.).

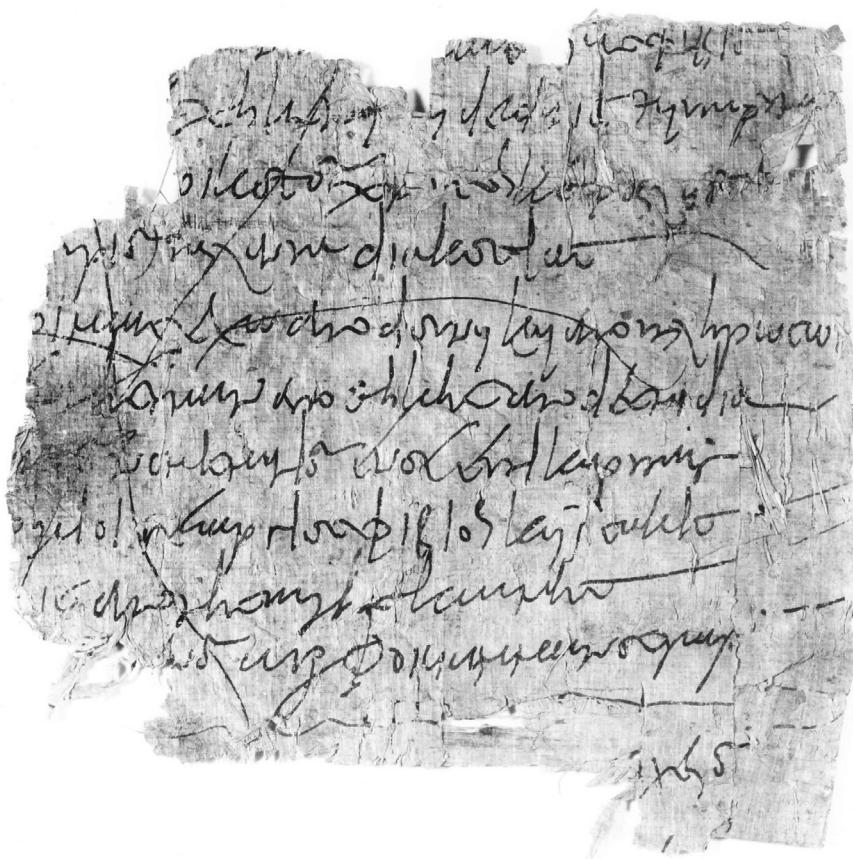
The handwriting (by a skilled writer against the fibers, i.e. *transversa charta*) can be assigned broadly to the sixth century CE (though a date to the late fifth century cannot be excluded).

A few large, X-shaped crosses have been drawn over the text. This *chiasm* shows that the text was cancelled after the loan was repaid.

The verso features a diagonal ink smudge and an ink trace that may come from a letter (*pi*?). Maybe this character was actually written on the recto, as at this place a papyrus fiber may need to be turned around.

¹ I am grateful to the *curator papyrorum* of the Museum, Dr. Maarten Raven, for kindly giving me permission to publish this papyrus. It is my sincere pleasure to record here with gratitude the assistance given by Drs. Alette V. Bakkers, former assistant of the Leiden Papyrological Institute, to my work on this papyrus. Finally, I am grateful to the journal editors and the anonymous referee of this article for submitting a number of stimulating suggestions and observations.

² See l. 4 and my observation on the use of talents in Byzantine Egypt (attested, after the elimination of some dubious attestations in Oxyrhynchite documents, only in the Thebaid) in *ZPE* 172 (2010) 167-169.



ll. 8-9, Αὐρήλιοι Γεώργιος Φιβίου καὶ Ἰσάκις son of N.N., might then be taken as the creditors.

If this is correct, ll. 8-9 might be seen as part of the creditors' subscription to the body of the contract.³ As the whole text appears to have been written by a single hand (see above), it follows that either the subscribing party also wrote the preceding body of the contract,⁴ or more likely that this text is a copy of an original contract. Under either of these assumptions, we are confronted with some additional problems, in particular because the body of the contract is much less extended than is normally the case in such loans (for some paral-

³ It should be observed, however, that such a creditors' subscription would seem rather unusual.

⁴ Something that, if theoretically conceivable, is at any rate uncommon and, given the plurality of creditors, a little complicated to imagine.

lels, see above). Such considerations all the more warrant the publication of this unusual fragment.

1 It is impossible to tell how many lines preceded line 1. In the sixth century CE a normal contract would have started with a dating formula, after the year 591 probably preceded by an invocation. On the basis of the text preserved in ll. 8-9 one might wish to restore in l. 1: Αὐρηλίους Γεωργίῳ Φιβίου καὶ Ἰσάκις son of N.N., but such a restoration is risky, the more so as Georgios and Isakis may have been only witnesses, rather than creditors; see l. 10n. Only the reading of the name of Matthias (Μαθ[ε]ίας) seems reasonably reliable, despite the dotted letters and the restored epsilon.

3 To date the *DDBDP* provides 52 attestations of the restoration [εἰς ἰδίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ] οἴκου in loan contracts from all parts of Egypt. According to the *DDBDP*, an alternative stock formula, εἰς ἰδίαν μου χρείαν (12 letters shorter than εἰς ἰδίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν) is presently attested 28 times in texts from all parts of Egypt, hence it may be argued that the longer formula was more popular and that this supports its restoration in our text.

3-4 Though the combination itself is not entirely unattested,⁵ amounts of *solidi* (= gold coinage) found in direct combination with an amount of talents (= coinage in billon) are an unusual phenomenon in sixth-century loans. The amount of gold borrowed in this contract is not preserved but is probably only a single *solidus* (= 24 κεράτια) or a fraction (1/2, 1/3) thereof;⁶ otherwise the amount of 200 talents would become even more insignificant (if 1 *solidus* were the equivalent of ca. 24,000 tal.,⁷ 1 *keration* would represent a value of ca. 1000 tal., hence an amount of 200 tal. would be the equivalent of ca. 0.2 *keration*).⁸

On the other hand, I do not think that the 200 talents mentioned here are

⁵ Though, according to the *DDBDP* (accessed on September 10, 2010), most attestations come from the 4th century CE; to date, out of 16 attestations of a combination of νομισματι- + [within 20 words] ταλαντ- (see e.g., *P.Oxy.* 48.3429.18 [IV]: 1 *sol.* + 8300 tal.), only *BGU* 12.2162 (mentioning in ll. 14-16 a rent of 1 *sol.* – 3 car. + 4500 tal.) dates from the year 491; two more “late” attestations of the phenomenon searched for, i.e. *SB* 16.13081 (V/VI) and 22.15598 (early VI), turn out to be irrelevant.

⁶ For a loan of 6 carats = 1/4 *sol.*, see, e.g., *P.Ant.* 2.104 (VI); for a loan of 9 carats, see, e.g., *P.Coll. Youtie* 2.92.26ff. (VI).

⁷ See *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67309 (569) and K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia: Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jh. n.Chr.* (Opladen 1994) 68, n. 10.

⁸ For the value of 1 lb. of gold converted into bronze money during the sixth century CE there seems to be, unfortunately, no single table of equivalences; in general, for this complicated subject, see Maresch (n. 7) 67ff.: “Das Verhältnis zwischen Kupfer- und

related to a stipulation concerning the payment of interest,⁹ because in our text an interest clause appears to start only somewhere in ll. 6-7, while at this point of the text only the borrowed amount is being described.

4 διακοσίας: one may be tempted to separate between διακόσια and σ and assume a repetition of the numeral (“two hundred”), i.e. written both as a word and as a cipher. In the papyri, however, gender inconsistency between endings of nouns and related words is quite common (in general, see the syntactical index to S.G. Kapsomenos, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* [München 1938] 137-138), while I think that, if a repetition would have occurred at all, the scribe would have repeated the amount of the borrowed money in one go (see the next paragraph).

In the lacuna at the beginning of this line, the scribe probably inserted some adjective(s) such as δεσποτικά, εὔσταθμα and/or δόκιμα qualifying the solidus in question; for other possibilities, see L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 137. After the indication of the borrowed amount (possibly provided with an indication “minus *n* carats,” παρὰ *n* κεράτια) one expects a repetition in abbreviation, i.e. (γίν.) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α [παρὰ *n* κερ(άτια)] / κερ(άτια) *n*, ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) σ. All of this possibly appeared only in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 5.¹⁰

4, 9 The scribe suffered from *horror vacui* in that he prolonged the horizontal part of the final *sigma* in order to fill the space that otherwise would remain void.

6-7 These lines form part of the repayment clause. The precise date of the repayment should have been mentioned in the lacuna in l. 6 (or in that of l. 8?) together with a clause regarding the payment of interest (in kind). Moreover, in the lacuna in between ll. 6 and 7 the quality of the delivery in kind may have been specified; cf. below at *P.Oxy.* 8.1130.

6 The use of the preposition ἐν with the genitive occurs more often in post-classical Greek, cf. Kapsomenos (l. 4n.) 112.

– ἀν<ά>: I owe the correct interpretation of this passage to my colleague Dr. F.A.J. Hoogendijk. For the omission of the *alpha*, see Gignac, *Grammar*

Goldgeld”; C. Zuckermann, *Du village à l'empire: autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô* (Paris 2004) 57-114, Ch. II: “L’or et le cuivre.”

⁹ Cf. *P.Mich.* 11.607 (Antinoop., 569), a loan of money of 1 *sol.* – 6 carats at a monthly interest of 250 tal.

¹⁰ It remains an open question why the scribe did not use the large *vacat* at the end of l. 4 to start this repetition.

1:307, where one encounters forms like ἀνδιδοῦντα, ἀνδίδοντες, ἀνδώσω for ἀναδιδοῦντα, ἀναδίδοντες, ἀναδώσω.

– δεσμίδια: a search in the *DDBDP* of words beginning in δεσμιδι- (δεσμίδια = “bundles”) in texts written after the year 450 CE produced the following result:

(a) five loan contracts, viz. *P.Prag.* 1.66.3 (Arsin., VII): καλάμια δεσμίδια διακόσια; *P.Bodl.* 1.39.12 (Arsin., VI/VII): στιππίωγ δεσ(μίδια) πέ[ν]τ[ε] ? ca. 12]; *P.Oxy.* 8.1130.11-14, cf. 29, 32 (Oxy., 484): ὑπὲρ διαφόρου ... σιππίου | καθαροῦ εὐάρεστου ἀπὸ τοῦ [σ]ταθμοῦ τῆς κώμης | δεσμίδια εἴκοσι; *SB* 6.9283.13-14 (Arsin., 542/556): στιπυν() | (14) [ca. 10 ὁσ]πρείων καὶ δεσμιδίω(ν); *P.Warren* 10.16 (Oxy., 591/2): χόρτου δεσμιδίων ἐξήκοντα τεσσάρων;

(b) a list, *P.Rain.Cent.* 77.6: καὶ δεσμ(ιδίων) στεμμ(άτων) γ, and

(c) a private letter, *P.Oxy.* 56.3865.22-24, ἀπητήσα|μεν αὐτοὺς ἕως ἐνὸς | δεσμι(δίου) (the text lacks an indication of the specific commodity packed in bundles).

For category (a) see also *P.Oxy.* 72.4918 (Oxy., 494-496), a loan contract with interest paid in bundles of flax (ll. 14-15: λινοκαλάμης δεσμ[ίδια]).

In the present papyrus, the creditor(s) of the loan of money will be repaid in kind (most likely in bundles of στιππίων = hemp or tow) at a conversion rate of *n* bundles per currency unit (see next note).

7] . σ̄τον: supply ἐκ]άστου νομισμάτιου ἐνός, “per each single *solidus*” (see [e.g.] *BGU* 12.2153.17), or read] ὥς τοῦ (with distributive use of ὥς, on which see Mayser, *Gram.* 2.3:168 and, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 45.3265.15 (326): ὥς τοῦ κεντηναρίου α ἅλαντα κβ)?

9]ις: supply, e.g., the indication of a profession such as οἱ κεραμεῖς, or a numeral such as οἱ τρεῖς (the latter would apply if in the lacunas in ll. 1-2 and 8-9 yet another, third person was mentioned).

10]έγου: should one restore here μαρτυροῦμεν ἀκούσαντες παρὰ τοῦ θεμ]έγου? This formula occurs frequently in signatures written by witnesses to a legal contract (in Byzantine Egypt, a legal contract features usually 1-3, sometimes more [up to 8] witnesses). In this scenario, the formula should be related to Aurelius Georgios and Aurelius Isakis (cf. l. 8) who would then be witnesses rather than creditors (cf. l. 1n.), while Aurelius Phoibammon could have been a third witness. Georgios and Isakis might have signed together, while Phoibammon signed by himself. This would require the change of the genitive Φοιβάμμωνος into the nominative Φοιβάμμων.

10-11 The long wavy line reminds me of a notarial subscription, in particular of subscriptions to legal documents from the Hermopolite nome (cf. J.M. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Byz.Not.*, p. 13); it should be observed, however, that most such Hermopolitan documents feature wavy lines written only *underneath* the notarial subscription in question (cf. *ibid.*, Taf. 21-39), while here the wavy line would appear to precede such a subscription (see next note). Was in this document the complete subscription encircled, or is there another explanation for the wavy line?

11] . χείου: or read]ΙΧΕΙΔ\ΟΥ/? This might be part of a notarial subscription (cf. the preceding note), e.g. a father's name or (less likely) part of a toponym indicating the notary's place of activity.

A Marriage-Gift of Part of a Monastery from Byzantine Egypt

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Abstract

Edition of P.Duk. inv. 728¹ (sixth century CE²) appears to record the marriage-gift of part of a monastery from the wife to the husband.

The Papyrus and the Hand

The shape of the papyrus is an uneven rectangle measuring no more than 30 cm long and 12.6 cm wide. Its color varies from light brown on either side to darker shades of the same color at the very top, the very bottom, and in the middle. At one point in the middle (corresponding to lines 10-11 of the transcription provided below), the darkening of the papyrus coincides with some severe abrasion of the text. There are no margins preserved at the top or bottom of the document. The side margins vary between 1.5 and 1.8 cm on the left and 0.01 and 2.5 cm on the right. Text appears only on the recto. Traces of letters visible above the first line of legible text (line 2 of the transcription) show that the opening lines of the original have been lost, an indication confirmed by the fact that the first legible words on the papyrus begin *in medias res*. The lack of any named parties to the agreement at the end of the papyrus, whether principals or witnesses, suggests that the closing lines suffered a similar fate. What the papyrus offers, then, is the intact middle portion of a document whose header and footer are missing.

The writing on the papyrus is a relatively tidy hand typical of Byzantine documents from the fifth and sixth centuries.³ The hand runs against the fi-

¹ P.Duk. inv. 728 was purchased for the Duke University Library in 1976 along with inv. 230-231 and inv. 729. See <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/acquisitions.html>, accessed 2011. The other pieces are magical texts. We would like to thank Rodney Ast, Joshua D. Sosin, and the anonymous reviewers of *BASP* for their incisive criticism of earlier drafts.

² Unless otherwise specified, all dates given are CE.

³ For a standard sampling of such hands, see R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* 1 (Stuttgart 1967) 50-59.

bers. Letters on the right margin have a tendency to shrink (notably in the final words of lines 3-4, 6-8, 14) or expand (notably in lines 1, 10-12, 15) as the scribe tries to make that margin more uniform. Initial letters on the left margin, particularly the initial *alpha* (in lines 3, 8, 15), are often oversized.

The Date

The most telling criterion for the document's date is the formulaic oath preserved in lines 13-15: ἐπομνυμένην περὶ τούτου τὸν τε παντοκράτορα θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ τὰ παντὰ νικῶντος δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλαυίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀυγούστου αὐτοκράτορος. Flavius Justinus is either Justin I (9.7.518-1.8.527) or Justin II (15.11.565-5.10.578).⁴ Of the closest parallels to this formula, two belong to Justin I: *PCair.Masp.* 3.67328.1.4-6 (521): ἐπομνύμενος τὸν τε παντοκράτορα θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ παντὰ νικῶντος δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀυγούστου αὐτοκράτορος;⁵ and *PFlor.* 3.323.10 (525): ἐπομν[υμέν]η θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ δεσπότης [ἡμ]ῶν Φλαυίου [Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀυγούστου αὐτοκρ]άτορος. One belongs to Justin II: *PLond.* 5.1707.6-7 (566): ὁμνυντες τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ καλλινίκου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλ(αίου) Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀυγούστου αὐτοκράτορος.⁶ The formula in *P.Duk. inv.* 728 most clearly resembles the parallels from the first Justin, invoking τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν, referring to the emperor as τοῦ τὰ παντὰ νικῶντος δεσπότης, and invoking his εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην. These features are absent in papyri dated under Justin II. Furthermore, Justin II tends in oath formulas to be invoked in company with family members, whereas Justin I appears alone.⁷ The data are too few to

⁴ R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd ed.; Leiden 2004) 254. For a detailed discussion of the historical data that support this precise chronology for the reign of Justin I see A.A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge 1950) 68-74, 414.

⁵ Cf. Bagnall and Worp (n. 4) 282. The text of the formula given here follows Bagnall and Worp, whose version depends on multiple fragmentary attestations in *PCair.Masp.* 3.67328.

⁶ This formula is also attested in *PLond.* 5.1717.31, which may date to the earlier reign of Justinian. See Bagnall and Worp (n. 4) 285.

⁷ Bagnall and Worp (n. 4) 282, 284-285. All the papyri invoking Justin I have already been cited. As given by Bagnall and Worp, those for Justin II (apart from *PLond.* 5.1707 and 5.1717) are *PMünch.* 1.1.44 (574); *PCair.Masp.* 2.67324b.v.18 (565-574); *PCair.Masp.* 3.67353.27 (569); *PSI* 1.76a.12 (572/3); *PCair.Masp.* 2.67169bis.34 (569); *SB* 1.4678.9 (574-578).

grant certainty, but suggest a date for P.Duk. inv. 728 under Justin I, between his accession on 9 July 518 and his death on 1 August 527.

The Genre

In Byzantine Egypt, property could be donated contractually to another party under various circumstances. Those features which are most prevalent in P.Duk. inv. 728 are common to all such documentary transfers of property, and do not, therefore, aid in the identification of genre.⁸ Distinctive features, however, include the provision for divorce (lines 10-12), the oft-repeated μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν and variations (lines 1, 5, 6, 11, 12), and the fact that the extant portion of this contract is recorded in the voice of a woman.⁹ Although the last two features are common in the form of the will (*donatio mortis causa*), the divorce clause is not.¹⁰ Yet, marriage documents, which often included provisions for divorce, “also contained,” as Yiftach-Firanko has noted, “regulations regarding the devolution of property after death – either that of a third party or of the spouses themselves.”¹¹ This means that P.Duk. inv. 728 is most likely either (1) a marriage contract (of which we have few Byzantine examples),¹²

⁸ For comparanda in a variety of deeds of gift see, e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67154.v (527-565); *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67240.v (6th cent.); *SB* 1.4678 (574); *SB* 20.14104 (6th cent.); *SB* 20.15020 (527-565).

⁹ This latter feature appears explicit in the feminine participle ἐπομνησμένην in line 13 and implicit in the divorce clause in lines 10-12, since in the papyri published to date active forms of the verb ἐκβάλλω are used to designate only the male role in dissolving a marriage: e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67310.r.12 and *P.Lond.* 5.1711.43 (566-573); *PSI* 1.41.4 (4th cent.); *PSI* 9.1075.8 (458); *SB* 24.16072.11 (12 BCE); *SB* 24.16073.21 (12 BCE); R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri: 332 B.C.-640 A.D.* (2nd ed.; Warsaw 1955) 120. On ἐκβάλλω as the husband’s “capricious ‘casting out’ of the wife” see U. Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt (4th century BCE – 4th century CE)* (München 2003) 187 and 187, n. 11.

¹⁰ See Justinian, *Institutes* 2.7.1; *P.Oxy.* 20.2283 (586) and especially *P.Princ.* 2.38 (264), a woman’s will.

¹¹ Yiftach-Firanko (n. 9) 221.

¹² Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.131 (358?); *SB* 18.13886 (488-489); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67006.v (566-570); *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67340 (6th cent.); *P.Lond.* 5.1710 and *P.Flor.* 3.294 (565-573); *P.Lond.* 5.1711 and *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67310.r (566-573); *CPR* 1.30 (6th cent.?); *SB* 6.8986 (641); *SB* 26.16533 (6th cent.). See also C.A. Kuehn, “A New Papyrus of a Dioscorian Poem and Marriage Contract,” *ZPE* 97 (1993) 108. Note, however, that Kuehn identifies P.Berol. inv. 21334 as a marriage contract by its stipulation that the husband owes his wife γαμικὰ ἔδνα and later refers to the same document as a *donatio propter nuptias*. This conflation of marriage contract and *donatio* arguably receives the sanction of law

or (2) a free-standing deed of gift (*donatio*), such as the *donatio inter virum et uxorem*, regulated in the *Codex Justinianus* (5.16), or the augmentation to the dowry that Justinian allows in the *Institutes* (2.7.3).

In support of the former case (1), marriage contracts from the Roman and Byzantine periods show women disposing of non-dotal property (identified in the Roman period as the παράφερνα or προσφορά) over which they exercise primary ownership; these contracts include legal arrangements for dealing with death or divorce.¹³ Yet, the absence in such documents of any reference to the woman's non-dotal portion as a gift (δωρεά) prevents us from identifying P.Duk. inv. 728 as a marriage contract. In support of the latter case (2), women speak in their own voice at greater length in deeds of gift (including those outside the context of marriage) than in marriage contracts,¹⁴ and the terminology used in deeds of gift parallels more precisely that found in P.Duk. inv. 728.¹⁵ What mitigates our certainty in identifying P.Duk. inv. 728 with these deeds of gift is the lack of comparanda wherein the validity of such

in Justinian's *Institutes* (2.7.3), which acknowledges the decision of Justin I that parties in a marriage may make such *donationes* as they would dowries, constituting them before the union and then augmenting them later. However, just because conflation was possible does not mean that it occurred in every instance: the *Institutes* recognize that not every *donatio* took place simultaneously with a marriage. Therefore, we attempt to avoid such conflation in our reading of P.Duk. inv. 728.

¹³ See P.Oxy. 2.265 (81-96); CPR 28 (110); CPR 22 (after 150); P.Strass. ed. Wilcken, *Archiv* 4 (1908) 130-142, fr. 1-2, col. 1, ll. 1-43 (158); PSI 10.1117 (before 161); CPR 1.27 (190); P.Lond. 5.1710 and P.Flor. 3.294 (565-573); and P.Cair.Masp. 1.67006 (6th cent.) discussed in O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano," *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 43-53. See also D. Hobson, "Women as Property Owners in Roman Egypt," *APA* 113 (1983) 311-321; S. Allam, "Women as Holders of Rights in Ancient Egypt (During the Late Period)," *JESHO* 33 (1990) 1-34; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 155-56, 164. Yiftach-Firanko (n. 9) 170 presents P.Mich 2.121.r.2.2 (42 CE) as evidence that usufruct to land assigned as προσφορά could be accorded by a wife to her husband in a marriage document. He also shows that provisions regarding the devolution of property after death are found in marriage documents in two different forms: either "appended to the routine document" or "located in the body of the marriage document itself" (*ibid.*, pp. 221-222). Apart from the distinctive clause μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην, P.Duk. inv. 728 shares none of the features which Yiftach-Firanko suggests are commonly associated with these forms (see his pp. 221-229).

¹⁴ See P.Lond. 3.1044.34-35 (6th cent.); SB 6.8987 (644-645). Note, however, that women can speak in their own voice in marriage contracts: see SB 18.13886.13 (488-489).

¹⁵ See P.Cair.Masp. 2.67154.v (527-565); SB 20.15020 (527-565?); P.Lond. 3.1044 (6th cent.); SB 18.13173 (629?). These papyri present extensive parallels to the document on

a gift depends upon the integrity of a marriage; this provision is more redolent of the marriage contract.

It is not possible to settle the question of genre definitively without the missing portions of the papyrus. Nevertheless, the fact that P.Duk. inv. 728 explicitly conveys a δωρεά makes the latter view (2) preferable, since no extant marriage contract refers to the wife's παράφερνα using "gift" language. Therefore, P.Duk. inv. 728 is most likely a wife's deed of gift to her husband, constituting an augmentation to the dowry. As such, its special conditions for cancellation are best understood as an iteration of the circumstances under which the dowry would have been retracted.

The Monastery

The gift of landed wealth treated in P.Duk. inv. 728 is defined in line 2 as the third part of a monastery (τοῦ αὐτο[ῦ] τρίτου μέρους μοναστηρίου ὅλοκ[λ]ήρου). The papyri attest to lay ownership of monasteries in sixth-century Egypt.¹⁶ Furthermore, a seventh-century Coptic will (P.KRU 66 and 76) provides evidence for lay possession and inheritance of fractional shares of private churches, incidentally showing that such possession was accessible to women.¹⁷ As a description of a monastery controlled, at least in part, by a layperson, P.Duk. inv. 728 joins the growing collection of evidence for the secularization of monasteries in this period.¹⁸ Inasmuch as it resembles the later testamentary transmission of monasteries, it provides an informative forerunner to the more ecclesiastically developed testaments of Apa Abraham (P.Lond. 1.77 [early 7th century]) and later Byzantine bishops.¹⁹

P.Duk. inv 728, including clauses defining ownership and oath formulae. Such parallels will be discussed further below.

¹⁶ J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, DC 1987) 38, 40-44, 61-65, 68, 71.

¹⁷ See L. Stern, "Zwei koptische Urkunden aus Theben," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1(1884) 143-152; Thomas (n. 16) 96. The document is a will drawn up for one Susanna, who bequeaths her fifth share of a church, among other things, to her three sons. As an unrelated matter of interest, the will also includes a Coptic oath-formula reminiscent of the one preserved in P.Duk. inv. 728.13-15.

¹⁸ E.g. P.Oxy. 16.1890 (508); P.Cair.Masp. 1.67062 (before 538); P.Cair.Masp. 1.67110 (565); SB 1.5174 and 5175 = P.Dubl. 32 and 33 (512); see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey* 2 (1964; reprint, Baltimore, MD 1986) 955 and 1395, n. 40.

¹⁹ P.Lond. 1.77 and P.Duk. inv. 728 share noteworthy similarities in style, format, and substance. The testament provides for similar rights of use; including: κατᾶσθαι, διοικεῖν, οἰκονομεῖν, φιλοκαλεῖν, οἰκεῖν, οἰκοδομεῖν, νέμεσθαι, ἐκμισθοῦν, πωλεῖν, παραχωρεῖν,

P.Duk. inv. 728

ca. 30 x 12.6 cm

Provenance unknown,

<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/728.html>

518-527 CE?

-
- 1 [- - -] traces [...] . . . [ca. 5 μετὰ τὴν]
 ἐμὴν τελευτὴν κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ δεσπόζειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 τρίτου μέρους μοναστηρίου ὁλοκλήρου μετὰ παντὸς
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαίου καθὼς προγέγραπται καὶ χρῆσθαι σε καὶ οἰκονομεῖν
 καὶ διοικεῖ<v> καὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ ἀνωκοδομεῖν καὶ ἐκμισθοῦν
 καὶ νέμεσθε ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ πάντα πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ
 καθ' ὃν ἕαν αἰρῆς τρόπον ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεγκλήτως
- 5 μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν καὶ παραπέμψαι εἰς τε υἱοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους καὶ
 ἐξῆς μεταπαραλημψομένους κληρονόμους
 καὶ διαδόχους καὶ διακατόχους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν
 τελευτὴν καὶ μὴ ἀντιποιήσασθαι μηδ' ἄλλον τινὰ
 ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μήθ' υἱοὺς μήτε κληρονόμους μήτε διαδόχους μήτε
 διακατόχους τούτου τρόπῳ μηδενὶ παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ βεβαιώσει<v> μέ σοι ταύτην τὴν δωρεὰν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει ἀπὸ
 παντὸς διὰ παντὸς ἀπαξαιπλῶς τοῦ ἀντιποιησομ[έ]-
 νου ἢ ἐπελευσομένου σοι περὶ τούτου ἢ μέρους τούτου καθ' ὃνδηποτοῦν
 τρόπον διὰ παντὸς ἐπάναγκες μέντοι γε
- 10 σοῦ μὴ ὀυγαμένου μήτε δυνηθησομένου ἐκβαλεῖν με ἀπὸ τοῦ σου
 συνοικεσίου εἰς ὅλον
 τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐμῆς ζωῆς ἄχρι τῆς ἐμῆς τελευτῆς, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλησας
 ἐκβαλεῖν με ἀπὸ τοῦ σου συνοικεσίου

ἀντικαταλλάτειν, δωρεῖσθαι, χαρίσασθαι, and ἀποχαρίσασθαι. It also concludes the list of rights with a statement allowing the new owner “to do everything regarding [the properties] with authority and unhindered” (καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτῶν πράττειν κυρίως καὶ ἀνεπικωλύτως). Acknowledging the status of the monastery as private property, the testament includes the clause prohibiting (μὴ δυναμένων) any and all relatives, whether paternal or maternal, from bringing suit (ἐπελεύσασθαι) against the new owner or against his κληρονόμοι, διάδοχοι, and διακατόχοι. Unlike a comparable sales contract from 318 (SB 10.10728), but similar to P.Duk. inv. 728, the testament concludes with an oath: ἐπωμοσάμην πρὸς τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος. It also assures with a guarantee that the testament documenting the transfer of property is valid wherever it is produced (ἦντινα πεποιήμαι σοι εἰς ἀσφάλειαν κυρίαν οὖσαν καὶ βεβαίαν ἀπανταχοῦ προφερομένην). See J.P. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments* 1 (Washington, DC 2000) 52 and doc. 1 (= *PLond.* 1.77); see also A. Steinwenter, “Byzantinische Mönchstestamente,” *Aegyptus*, 12 (1932) 55-64, especially 62.

πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς τελευτῆς χωρὶς νομίμου ἐτίας ἦτοι πορνίας ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτην
 μου τὴν δωρεὰν ἄκυρον
 εἶναι καὶ ἀνίσχυρον ἀπανταχοῦ προφερομένην. ἐπομνυμένην περὶ
 τούτου τόν τε παντοκράτορα θεὸν
 καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης τῆς
 οἰκουμένης Φλαυίου{ου} Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
 15 Αὐτοκράτορος ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι καὶ πρὸς <σ>ην
 ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην σοι ἐθέμην τὴν δωρεάν.

3 ἀνοικοδομεῖν 4 νέμεσθαι, αἰρῇ 5, 7 υἱους pap. 7 ὑπερ 9 first ἥ
 corr. from σ 12 αἰτίας, πορνείας; πορνίας corr. from πον- 13 προφερομένην
 corr. from φρο- 14 φλαυίουῦ pap.; second ο corr. from σ

“(I agree ... that after) my death you possess, have authority and are master forever over the same third part of the whole monastery with every right over it, as has been set forth, and that you use it and manage it and administer it and inhabit it and repair it and lease it and enjoy it henceforth from this time, and that you act and deal with everything concerning it according to whatever manner you choose, unhindered and without accusation (5) after my death, and that you convey it to sons and descendants and subsequently inheriting heirs, successors and possessors for all time after my death, and that neither I nor anyone else on my behalf, whether sons, heirs, successors, or possessors will lay claim to this in any way, under any pretext; but that I guarantee this gift to you with every guarantee forever compulsorily from every person who shall make any claim or take proceedings against you regarding this or a part thereof in any way whatsoever forever. Moreover (10) it is binding that you neither are able nor will be able to cast me out from your household for the entire time of my life until my death. But if you did want to cast me out from your household before my death without lawful cause or fornication, in that case this gift of mine is void and without effect everywhere presented. I swear regarding this by Almighty God and by the piety and victory of the all-conquering ruler of the inhabited world, Flavius Justinus, the eternal Augustus, (15) Imperator, that these things are so and that I have falsified nothing, and for your security I made over to you this gift.”

1 Contracts in the Byzantine period often incorporate statements of conditions in indirect discourse that depend on a form of the verb ὁμολογέω. See *P.Flor.* 3.313.9 (449); *P.Flor.* 3.280.8 (514); *P.Flor.* 3.281.7 (517); *P.Flor.* 3.342.7 (524); *P.Flor.* 3.323.15 (525); *P.Flor.* 3.285.7 (552); *P.Lond.* 3.1044.34

(6th cent.); *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.92 (569), written in a woman's voice; and *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67154.v.6 (527-565).

The bottom strokes of some letters can be faintly discerned over δεσπόζειν διὰ παντός of line two, and again beginning over τρίτου μέρους and continuing until the end of the line. The most distinctive of these marks appears over the initial *omicron* of ὁλοκλήρου and resembles the lower stroke of the *xi* (cf. line 5: ἐξῆς).

2 κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ δεσπόζειν: cf. *BGU* 17.2698.16-17 (7th cent.; heavily restored); *P.Bodl.* 1.45.26 (610); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67097.r.20 (early 6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67120.r.9-10 (6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67151.81 (570); *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67313.51-52 (7th cent.). *P.Grenf.* 1.60.43 (581); *P.Mich.* 13.662.38 (7th cent.); *P.Mich.* 13.664.21 (585/600); *P.Michael.* 1.40.30-31 (mid-6th cent.). See also *P.Herm.* 25.12 (5th cent.); *P.Kell.* 1.8.7-8 (362); *P.Lond.* 1.77.31 (7th cent.). These latter have ἐπικρατεῖν for κρατεῖν. For a brief discussion of the pre-Byzantine legal terminology underlying the triad, see Taubenschlag (n. 9) 173-174.

3 διοικεῖ<v>: final *nu* omitted, as in βεβαιώσει<v> (line 8). For this formulaic use of διοικέω, see *P.Michael.* 1.40.34 (mid-6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67169bis.6 (566-570); *P.Lond.* 1.77.35 (7th cent.); *P.Mich.* 13.662.42 (7th cent.). For ἀνοικοδομεῖν in the same formulaic context, cf. *P.Bodl.* 1.45.27 (610); *P.Grenf.* 1.60.44 (581); *P.Münch.* 1.9.73 (585); *P.Münch.* 1.13.45 (594).

4 For the formulaic use of νέμεσθαι, see *P.Bingen* 1.130.9 (526-545); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67097.r.24 (early 6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67169bis.7 (566-570); *P.Lond.* 1.77.35 (7th cent.).

5-6 κληρονόμους καὶ διαδόχους καὶ διακατόχους: a standard formulation: *BGU* 17.2698.5 (7th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67097.r.31-33 (early 6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67120.r.8-9 (6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67154.v.15-17 (527-565); *P.Lond.* 2.483.25ff. (616); *P.Lond.* 5.1735.9-10 (late 6th cent.). Note that *P.Duk.* inv. 728 augments this phrase, adding υἱοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους in line 5 and υἱοὺς in line 7.

6 Following the *delta* in μηδ' ἄλλον is a mark that appears similar to the apostrophe used to indicate elision in documents from as early as the second century BCE (see E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [2nd ed.; London 1987] 8). In this document, however, there are no such marks at the four additional elisions (see lines 4, 7, 9, and 15). The mark here is therefore either stray or a result of the scribe's beginning to write an *epsilon* before recognizing the need to elide.

8-9 ἀπὸ παντός διὰ παντός ἀπαξαπλῶς τοῦ ἀντιποιησομ[έ]νου ἢ ἐπελευσομένου: this formulaic expression occurs repeatedly in the Byzantine papyri, and has been translated variously. We agree with the editors of *P.Michael*. 1.40.44-45 (mid-6th cent.), *P.Mich.* 13.663.21 (6th cent.), and *P.Mich.* 13.662.64 (7th cent.) who read παντός ... τοῦ ἀντιποιησομένου ἢ ἐπελευσομένου (order varies) as one syntactic unit, the genitive object of the preposition ἀπὸ, and διὰ παντός as another syntactic unit, an adverbial expression of time. For comparanda and alternative translations of the former see *CPR* 7.36.11-12 (331); *P.Kell.* 1.8.9-10 (362); *P.Köln* 4.193.6 (5th/6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67154.v.18 (527-565); *P.Münch.* 1.9.71 (585); *P.Münch.* 1.11.43-44 (586). For other instances of διὰ παντός as an adverbial expression of time, see *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67097.r.28ff (early 6th cent.); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67151.154 (545/6); *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67169.6, 13 (566-570); *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67313.52 (6th cent.); *P.Mich.* 13.664.28 (585-600); *P.Michael.* 1.40.29 (6th cent.); *P.Michael.* 1.41.5, 27, 38 (539-554); and *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 25.C.13 (6th cent.).

11 ἄχρι τῆς ἐμῆς τελεγνῆς: for parallels, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67006.v.100 (522?); *P.Gron.* 10.17-18. (4th cent.); *P.Lond.* 5.1727.45 (583-4); *P.Lond.* 5.1730.10 (585).

– δέ: For a striking parallel to this true ligature, see *P.Oxy.* 61.4129.18 (358), pl. 12.

12 ἐτίας ἦτοι πορνίας: read αἰτίας ἦτοι πορνείας. In this line, πο|ν|ρνίας provides an example of the scribe's correction habits. In writing the word πορνεία, the scribe had begun to write a *nu* after the *omicron*. Immediately recognizing his mistake and wanting to correct πον to read πορ, he moved his pen a half-step back and wrote the *rho* over the right half of the *nu* (see also the first ἦ in line 9, προφερομένην in line 13, and Φλαβίου{ου} in line 14).

For the use of αἰτία and πορνεία in articulating legal claims under which Byzantine husbands could divorce (ἐκβαλεῖν) their wives, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67310.r.12 and *P.Lond.* 5.1711.43-44 (566-573). Cf. also literary parallels in John Chrysostom (in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne [1857-1866] 47:359, 51:369-70) and Matt 5:32, 19:9. Regarding the precise meaning of πορνεία, see J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance* 1 (1990) 86-87, 99, 359-361. Beaucamp translates it as “la fornication” and quotes Gregory Nazianzen to the effect that it designates a sexual offence less heinous than μοιχεία, for which she reserves “l’adultère.” Regarding the sort of behavior apart from πορνεία that constituted a νόμμος αἰτία for divorce, cf. *Cod.Just.* 5.17.8; J. Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire* (London 2002) 207. Grounds for divorce in this fifth-century imperial order include the wife's being guilty of homicide, abduction, domestic abuse (bat-

tery), desecrating graves, stealing from sanctuaries, thieving generally or harboring thieves, attending parties without the husband's permission or against his will, spending the night away from home similarly, frequenting venues of public amusement similarly, plotting the husband's death, being complicit in high treason, or making false representations.

13 ἀπανταχοῦ προφερομένην: another example of scribal correction is found here in the writing of προφερομένην. The scribe began to write a *phi*, perhaps for φερομένην, but then wrote a *pi* over the right half of the *phi*, cancelling it and concluding the word as it stands. For other attestations of the stock phrase ἀπανταχοῦ προφερόμεν-ος/-η/-ον), cf. *P.Grenf.* 1.60.51 (581); *P.Herm.* 31.25 (6th cent.); *P.Lond.* 1.77.5ff (7th cent.); *P.Lond.* 5.1724.65 (578-582); *P.Lond.* 5.1729.43 (584); *P.Lond.* 5.1730.35 (585); *P.Lond.* 5.1733.66 (594); *P.Münch.* 1.3.8-9 (580); *P.Münch.* 1.9.89-90 (585); *P.Münch.* 1.10.18 (586); *P.Münch.* 1.11.66 (586); *P.Münch.* 1.12.49 (590/1?); *P.Münch.* 1.13.66 (594); *SB* 1.5112.65 (618?); *SB* 1.5113.27 (7th cent.); *SB* 1.5114.45-46 (640); *SB* 18.13777.22 (556).

– ἐπομνυμένην: The participle is accusative either by attraction (to the case of its immediate neighbor προφερομένην) or because it refers to the gift (“being confirmed by oath”) instead of the giver (“confirming by oath”). While the latter is more grammatical, the former is more in keeping with oath-formulae in the papyri (and therefore preferable): cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67094.8 (553); *P.Flor.* 3. 284.5 (538); *P.Flor.* 3.323.10 (525); *P.Grenf.* 1.60.14 (581). The last two documents record a woman taking an oath.

14 The small open-topped *beta* in εὐσέβειαν is unique within this papyrus, but it does appear in other papyri from the same period, e.g., *P.Mich. Aphrod.* passim, pls. 1-5 (547/8?). Furthermore, the small open *beta* appears in close proximity to the large closed *beta* in at least one Byzantine document of the sixth century: *BGU* 17.2683.1-2, pl. 10 (513). See also Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 1, 49, 56-57.

– Φλαυίου{ου} Ἰουστίνου: this is a case of haplography and dittography in one. The scribe initially wrote *sigma* after Φλαυίου, as if he had already started the second name Ἰου. Then he corrected the *sigma* to *omicron* and added an *upsilon*, thereby inadvertently repeating the ending of Φλαυίου before starting Ἰουστίνου.

Receipt from the Holy Church of God at Hermopolis

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Abstract

Edition of a late receipt for rent (5 *solidi*) on land owned by the episcopal church of Hermopolis.

P.Mich. inv. 3415¹

H x W = 8.75 x 21 cm

Hermopolis,
first half of VII AD

This receipt should be added to the dossier of texts concerning the episcopal church of Hermopolis that date from the seventh century, bringing the total number to sixteen at the present time.² Only SPP 3.271 B can be dated with some certainty, to AD 641/2, but this hinges on the identification of Senouthios, identified as the *dux* and φροντιστής of the church in Hermopolis in this text, with the Senouthios whose selection as *dux* of the Thebaid John of

¹ Acquired in 1925. 1 cm margin on the bottom. Text runs against the fibers. Other side is blank. The top and bottom of the papyrus, along with right edge, are preserved, but folded at the left margin, resulting in the loss of the first portion of each line.

² For a partial list of texts in this dossier, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle* (Brussels 1972) 44-46; see also J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 76-80, reprinted with additions in J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (Paris 2008). To this list SB 22.15715-15716, two texts from the University of Michigan's collection published by P.J. Sijpesteijn, must also be added. For his discussion see ZPE 100 (1994) 262-264. In general on economic interests of the episcopal church and other ecclesiastical institutions, see Wipszycka, *op.cit.*; G. Schmelz, "Brief der Bischofskirche von Hermupolis Magna an die Dorfvorsteher von Alabastrine," in *Pap.Congr. XXIII* (2007) 645-656; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (Munich-Leipzig 2002); and for brief discussion of the taxes paid by the monasteries and churches of Hermopolis, see, L.S.B. MacCoull, "Aspects of Church Finance in the Seventh-Century Hermopolite According to P.Lond. Copt. I 1077," in *Pap.Congr. XXIII* (2007) 415-419.

Nikiou discussed.³ Although the indiction date is missing from *SPP* 3.271 B, a date of 641/2 places it in the 15th indiction according to R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp.⁴ If the date assigned to *SPP* 3.271 B is accepted, and if the second indiction date of the present text is correct, this suggests that this receipt dates either to 628 or 643.⁵

The texts that constitute this dossier record payments to this particular church for rent on land that it owned and leased out. Of the rents recorded, most of the payments are in gold *solidi* or fractions of a *solidus*; only the rent paid by Apa Eulalios in *SPP* 3.271 A includes grain as part of the payment (11.5 artabas of grain and 10 *keratia*). *P.Mich. inv.* 3415 aligns with the majority of the texts in this sense. Like other landholding institutions, the episcopal church of Hermopolis transacted business with and rented land to a range of individuals and groups. The occupations of the tenants, however, are not always readily apparent. Two receipts refer to individuals engaged in some type of craft or trading activity: Victor the *στιππουργός* of *P.Lond.* 3.1072 B (*BL* 9:138), who acts on behalf of a group of heirs, and Kollouthos the *χορτοπώλης*, but both a tow-worker and a hay-dealer would likely have close ties to land owned by estates or churches.⁶ The Holy Church transacted business with groups of in-

³ John of Nikiou, *Chronicle*, chapter CXX.29 (trans. R.H. Charles; Oxford 1916); for more on Senouthios, see *PLRE* 3:1121-1122.

⁴ R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, (2nd ed; Leiden 2004) Appendix C, 127-157.

⁵ The dating of *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A-D (*BL* 9:138) seems to have caused some confusion. They were originally dated to the seventh century. Wipszycka seems to have accepted a seventh century date and has grouped these four with the rest of the texts from this church in her discussion in Wipszycka (n. 2). P.J. Sijpesteijn suggested that *P.Lond.* 3.1072 D should be dated to the sixth century based on a link between a farmer named Victor in this text and a farmer named Victor in *P.Lond.* 3.1051 (*BL* 9:137) and referred to as Victor son of Pines in *P.Lond.* 3.1316 B (= *SB* 20.14457), two texts also from Hermopolis and assigned a sixth century date; see P.J. Sijpesteijn, "An Important Family in VIth Century Hermupolis," *Hellenika* 40 (1989) 380-382. However, in 1994, P.J. Sijpesteijn suggested that *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A-D were written in the same hand as *SB* 22.15715-15716, that of Kollouthos the *pronoetes*, and he has dated these two texts to the middle of the 7th century; see P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 262-264. It seems that while there are parallels between *P.Lond.* 3.1072 D, *P.Lond.* 3.1051, and *P.Lond.* 3.1316 B in terms of the structure of these receipts, it is possible that we are dealing with different farmers named Victor. Based on the similarities between *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A-D and the rest of the dossier, it seems more likely that these texts should be grouped together with the others from the episcopal church of Hermopolis.

⁶ If the restoration is correct, a third receipt, *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A (*BL* 8:184), makes mention of a fruit merchant (*πωμαρίτης*) named Enoch. The dossier of texts associated with Aurelius Leonides, an official of the tow-workers (*στιππουργοί*) in Oxyrhynchus

dividuals, such as the heirs of Phoibammon (*SPP* 3.272) or the heirs of Daniel (*P.Lond.* 5.1782), and also entered into rental agreements with monks and other ecclesiastical personnel, such as Abba Daniel (*P.Lond.* 3.1060) or Abba Pachar (*P.Lond.* 5.1783; *BL* 8:193). That this church maintained economic relationships of this sort is consistent with other evidence of the economic activities of landholding institutions in general, ecclesiastical or otherwise.⁷

In addition, these texts provide some insight into the organization of a church, its officials, and the surrounding community in the first half of the seventh century in Egypt. The transaction recorded in this text, for instance, was undertaken on behalf of the church not by members of the clergy but by a local official and his intermediaries acting as lay administrators, who may have helped oversee and manage the financial operations of the church.⁸ Overlapping relationships between churches and monasteries, ecclesiastical officials, and members of the lay community were not uncommon, but this particular relationship between Ioannakios, Kollouthos, and the Holy Church seems somewhat exceptional in comparison to the other texts in the dossier.⁹ The high rank that Ioannakios possesses as indicated in this text and in *SB* 12.10805, not unlike Senouthios, may explain the reason for this arrangement with the episcopal church. While Ioannakios holds the position of *phrontistes*,

during the fourth century (AD 314-334), indicates that at various times he both leased land to sow flax for raw materials as well as purchased the raw materials from landholders themselves; see *P. Oxy.* 45.3254-3259, *P. Oxy.* 1.103, *P. Oxy.* 31.2585, and *PSI* 5.469. For more on flax in Egypt, see P. Mayerson, "The Role of Flax in Roman and Fatimid Egypt," *JNES* 56 (1997) 201-207.

⁷ The account books of the Apion estate, for instance, indicate what appear to be routine transactions between the estate, its personnel, and groups of individuals; among other examples, see *P. Oxy.* 55.3804 (566) and 3805 (576); for a general discussion of contracts between tenants and ecclesiastical institutions, see E. Wipszycka, "L'Église dans la chora égyptienne et les artisans," *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 130-138.

⁸ This text joins *P.Lond.* 5.1782, *SPP* 3.271 B, and *SB* 12.10805 as examples of transactions concluded on behalf of the church by the intermediaries of church officials with tenants. In *P.Lond.* 5.1782, the transaction is completed by a man named Theodosios, described as a *μισθιος* of Senouthios (προνοητής μερίδος τῶν χρυσικῶν Ἑρμοπόλεως), with the heirs of Daniel; in *SPP* 3.271 B, Joseph, an official at another church (πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἁγίου Μερκουρίου Βωοῦ) acts on behalf of Abba Menas the ἀρχιδιάκονος and διοικητής of the Holy Church (who himself acts on behalf of Senouthios, the *dux* and φροντιστής of the Holy Church at Hermopolis); and in *SB* 12.10805, Kollouthos the ἀπατητής acts on behalf of Ioannikos, who like Senouthios, served as the *dux* and φροντιστής.

⁹ For more on the complex relationships between ecclesiastical institutions and lay administrators in Egypt, see J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in The Byzantine Empire* (Washington 1987) 59ff.

due to his elevated status, he may not be as involved in the day-to-day business as someone like Kollouthos, who likely had a more hands on roll in the administration of the episcopal church. The numerous mentions of Kollouthos acting in various capacities on behalf of the church over the course of many years seem to suggest a closer relationship between Kollouthos and the church in comparison with officials like Ioannakios who held numerous religious and civil offices.

P.Mich. inv. 3415 was originally acquired by the University of Michigan as part of a group of texts that also included SB 22.15715 and 15716, all purchased in 1925 from M. Nahman.¹⁰ The hand appears to be that of Kollouthos the *pronoetes*, who signed SB 22.15715 and 15716 as well. Other paleographic features worth mentioning include a lack of trema or diaeresis marks, as well as a particular hook on the downstroke of each *tau*. The text also shows some similarities with SB 22.15715 and 15716, including Kollouthos' writing of τοῦ as γ written above the *tau* in lines 1 and 5. In like fashion, Kollouthos writes θεοῦ in line 5 as a *theta* followed by a slightly elevated γ and omits the *epsilon*. In line 5 ἐμοῦ is written with γ above a combination of mu and a sinusoid abbreviation mark. P.J. Sijpesteijn also suggested that SB 22.15715 and 15716 were written in the same hand as P.Lond. 3.1072 A-D, which bear the signature of Kollouthos the *pronoetes*.¹¹ If this is the same Kollouthos, now known to be involved with the church during the first, second, sixth, and twelfth indictions recorded in these texts, it indicates that long-standing relationships existed between this church and the lay administrators.

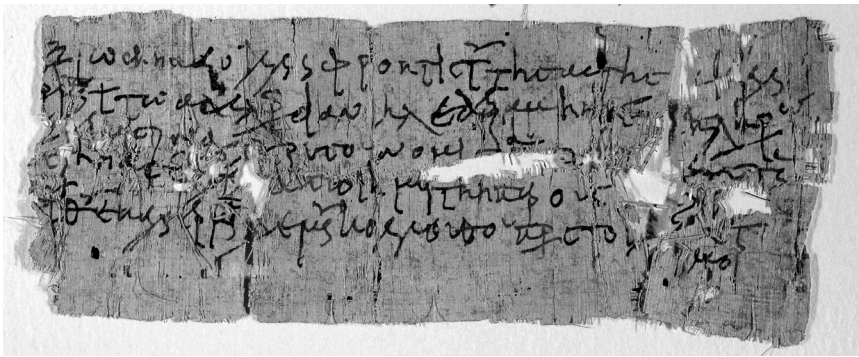
[† ἡ ἀγί(α) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλη(ησία) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδο]ξ(οτάτου)
 Ἰωαννακίου ἰλλ(ουστρίου) (καὶ) φροντιστοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλη(ησίας)
 [Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως) δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ Κολλούθου προ(νοητοῦ) Ἑ]ρμ(ου)π(όλεως) †
 τῷ ἀδελφ(ῶ) Δανιήλ. ἐδεξάμην καὶ ἐπληρώ(θην)
 [παρὰ σοῦ (ὑπὲρ) ἐκφορ(ίων) καρπ(ῶν) δε]υῖέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσοῦ
 νομισμά(τια) πέντε εὔστα(θμα)
 [γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ε, καὶ πρὸς σὴν ἀσφάλ(ειαν) πεποίημαι
 τὴν παροῦσ[αν] πλ(ηρωτικὴν)
 (5) [ἀπόδειξ(ιν) ὡς πρόκ(εταί). † ἡ ἀγί(α)] τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ ἐκκλη(ησία) Ἑρμ(ου)-

¹⁰ For more information, consult the report that H.I. Bell prepared for F.G. Kenyon, provided online by the University of Michigan (http://www.lib.umich.edu/MPC/Reports/1925/7_22_25_kenyon_bell.html; accessed on 1/11/10). P.Mich. inv. 3415 as well as SB 22.15715 and 15716 were part of Lot IV purchased from M. Nahman as detailed in the report. I owe this information to the late Traianos Gagos.

¹¹ P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 262; H.I. Bell had claimed that P.Lond. 5.1784 and 1785 were written in the same hand as P.Lond. 3.1072 A-D.

π(όλεως) δ(ιὰ) ἐμοῦ Κολλούθου προ(νοητοῦ) στοιχ[εῖ] μοι
[ἢ ἀπόδειξις] ὡς πρόκ(ειται). †]

“(The Holy Church of God of Hermopolis through) the *gloriosissimus* Ioannakios, *illustris* and *phrontistes* of the same church (of Hermopolis through me Kollouthos the *pronoetes* of the church) of Hermopolis to my brother Daniel. I have received in full (from you for the rent of the crops of the second) indiction, five gold *solidi* of full weight (that is 5 gold *solidi*, and for) your security I have made this present (5) (receipt. The Holy) Church of God of Hermopolis, through me, Kollouthos the *pronoetes*, I approve (the receipt as written above).”



1 Although the beginning of this line is lost, it is possible to make these restorations based on the other texts in this dossier. The texts all begin by naming the church and the agents of the church through whom the transaction is being conducted; see *PLond.* 3.1060.1-3 (*BL* 8:184): † ἡ ἀγί(α) τ(ο)ῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἑρμοῦ πόλ(εως) δι' ἐμο(ῦ) Θεοδοσίου(ν) ἀπαιτητ(οῦ) τῶν χρυσικ(ῶν) μερίδ(ος) Ἑρμοῦ πόλ(εως); see also *SB* 22.15716.1-3: ἡ ἀγί(α) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἑρμ(οῦ) π(όλεως) δι' ἐμ(ο)ῦ Κολλούθ(ου) νο(ταρίου) (καὶ) ἀπαιτ(ητοῦ) τῶν χρυσικ(ῶν) Ἑρμ(οῦ) π(όλεως).

The transaction recorded in this text appears to be completed for the church by Ioannakios, who is in turn represented by Kollouthos in this case. Two other texts in the dossier also seem to be transactions that involve an official and his agent acting on behalf of the church: *SB* 12.10805 and *SPP* 3.271 B (*BL* 8:438). Ioannakios and Kollouthos (styled as the ἀπαιτητῆς μερίδος Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως) also appear in *SB* 12.10805. In *SPP* 3.271 B, another high-ranking individual, Senouthios the *dux* and φροντιστής of the Holy Church, is represented by Menas the ἀρχιδιάκονος καὶ διοικητής, who is in turn represented by Joseph the προνοητής μερίδος Βωοῦ. It would seem that individuals serving as the φροντιστής appear in these documents only through intermediaries who actually are completing the transaction.

– ἡ ἀγί(α) τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλη(ησία) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως): the Holy Church of God of Hermopolis was the episcopal see; on the terminology used to identify churches, see E. Wipszycka, “Καθολικὴ et les autres épithètes du nom ἐκκλησία,” *JJP* 24 (1994) 191-212, see also A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Egypte des byzantins aux abbassides* (Paris 2001) 267-281; for more on the Holy Church, see Wipszycka (n. 2) 43ff.; see also J. Gascou, *P.Sorb.* 2, pp. 72-73; and more recently the thorough discussion of G. Schmelz, “Brief der Bischofskirche von Hermupolis Magna an die Dorfvorsteher von Alabastrine,” in *Pap.Congr. XXIII* (2007) 645-656. Like private estates, ecclesiastical institutions and monasteries possessed large portfolios of land. According to L.S.B. MacCoull and her reading of *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1075 (VI), the Holy Church of Hermopolis was, for example, the largest landholder in the village of Temseu Skordon based on a total tax liability of 70 *solidi*; more recently on this text, see R.S. Bagnall, “Village and City: Geographies of Power in Byzantine Egypt,” in *Les Villages dans l’Empire byzantin (IVe - XVe siècle)*, ed. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, J.-P. Sodini (Paris 2005) 553-565, as well as R.S. Bagnall, “Village Landholding at Aphrodito in Comparative Perspective,” in *Les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte*, ed. J.- L. Fournet (Paris 2008) 181-190.

– Ἰωαννακίου: this might have been the same Ioannakios mentioned in SB 12.10805 (*BL* 10:205). If it is the same individual, we know Ioannakios’ full title, ἐνδοξότατος καὶ ἰλλοῦστριος καὶ φροντιστής, based on SB 12.10805.1-2: † ἡ ἀγί(α) τ(ο)ῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐκκλη(ησία) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως) δ(ιὰ) τ(ο)ῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Ἰωαννακί(ου) ἰλλ(ουστρίου) (καὶ) φροντιστοῦ τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) ἐκκλη(ησίας) Ἑρμ(ο)π(όλεως). The honorific ἐνδοξότατος, Latin *gloriosissimus*, was reserved for the highest levels of the senatorial elite in the Byzantine bureaucracy. J. Gascou suggests that this is the same man identified as Ἰωαννάκιος στρατηλάτης mentioned several times in *P.Sorb.* 2.69, and indicates that the titles by which he is addressed in SB 12.10805 would be appropriate for a person holding the rank of στρατηλάτης; see J. Gascou, *P.Sorb.* 2, p. 221 (23, f° 12 ↓ line 8) for discussion. The στρατηλάτης was the equivalent of the *magister militum*, a high ranking office also held by members of the Apion family in the previous century. Flavius Apion II includes the honorific ἐνδοξότατος when he is identified as the στρατηλάτης and παγάρχος in *BGU* 1.305 (556); for earlier references to Flavius Strategius see *P.Oxy.* 16.1983 (535) and 1984 (523).

It seems that the honorific ἐνδοξότατος is often coupled with people holding the offices of στρατηλάτης and pagarch. *P.Prag.* 2.197 (VI), a letter from a presbyter named Abraham addressed to Flavius Basilios: ἐνδοξοτάτῳ Φλ(αουίῳ) Βασιλίῳ στρατηλ(άτῃ), shows a similar combination of titles and offices; for other examples see *BGU* 1.320 (644; *BL* 11:17), a letter from Arsinoe

addressed to Flavius Theodorakios: Φλ(αοῖω) Θεοδωρακίω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ παγάρχῳ; see also *CPR* 24.30 (622) addressed to Flavius Menas: Φλ(αοῖω) Μηνᾶ τῷ ἐνδοξοτ(άτῳ) στρατηλάτῃ, παγάρχῳ. For more discussion of these titles and honorifics, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen 1930) 8-10. That Ioannakios held the post of στρατηλάτης at some point in his career, in addition to the use of ἐνδοξότατος and ἰλλούστριος as part of his title in the present text, suggests that Ioannakios may have been a member of the highest levels of the aristocracy inside and outside of Egypt. In light of the economic influence the episcopal church possessed, and the high status of officials like Ioannakios or Senouthios, perhaps it is not surprising to find leading local officials also serving as lay administrators of the church's land as reflected in the present text.

If ἐνδοξότατος and ἰλλούστριος denote rank and privileges, φροντιστής refers to the actual position Ioannakios held in relation to the church. Another document from this group of texts, *SPP* 3.271 B, mentions a Senouthios who also serves as the φροντιστής of this same church in Hermopolis, as well as *dux* of the Thebaid. John of Nikiou recounts the selection of Senouthios as prefect by the new rulers after the conquest, see *Chronicle*, chapter CXX.29. Beyond its playing a role in the administration of the church, little can be said about the position. Of the documents that comprise this dossier, we now have only three references to the position. E. Wipszycka describes the φροντιστής as a lay official involved in the financial matters of the church, possibly similar to the *defensor ecclesiae*, who would represent the church in its dealings with various secular offices and authorities; see "Les factions du cirque et les biens ecclésiastiques dans un papyrus égyptien," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 179-198, 184-187; see also Wipszycka (n. 2) 151-153; Schmelz (n. 2) 163, 176-177.

2 Only two other texts of this dossier mention a transaction that involved more than one individual acting on behalf of the church, as mentioned above; for the proposed restoration see *SB* 12.10805.1-2 cited above. In the lost portion of the line, a mention of Kollouthos, the second official involved in this transaction identified at line 5, would likely be expected.

– Δανιήλ: several of the documents from this dossier mention a person named Daniel. *P.Lond.* 3.1060 refers to an Abba Daniel; two other texts make mention of a similarly named person, or his heirs: *P.Lond.* 5.1782 (*BL* 8:193) is a receipt for the heirs of Danielelos and *SB* 22.15716 is a receipt for taxes paid by a farmer named Danielos. P.J. Sijpesteijn believes that the men mentioned in *SB* 22.15716 and *P.Lond.* 5.1782 may be the same person, but not Abba Daniel; see P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 263. The fact that Daniel completes the transaction with someone who could be the same Kollouthos may add further confirmation. The second indiction date of this text suggests that, if this is the

same person, it is likely several years earlier than *P.Lond.* 5.1782 (dated to the fifth indiction), which mentions the heirs of Daniel. The five gold *solidi* paid as rent by Daniel in this text is the same as the rent paid in *P.Lond.* 5.1782 (ὕπερ ἐκφορίων) by Daniel's heirs. It might be possible to conjecture that this is a rent payment for the same land Daniel's heirs managed, and I have made the suggested restoration in line 3 based on this parallel.

3 παρὰ σοῦ (ὕπερ) ἐκφορ(ίων) καρπ(ών) δε]υτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος): following ἐδεξάμην καὶ ἐπληρώ(θην) in line 2, we would expect some mention of the specific rent and the indiction date. The difficulty in the restoration lies in whether to suggest (ὕπερ) ἐκφορ(ίων) καρπ(ών) or (ὕπερ) ἐμφ(υτεύματος) καρπ(ών); for ἐκφορ(ίων) καρπ(ών), see *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A.2: (ὕπερ) ἐ]κφορ(ίων) καρπ(ών), *P.Lond.* 5.1782.3, 1784.2, and 1785.3; for ἐκφ(ορίων) in *P.Lond.* 3.1072 C-D; for ἐμφ(υτεύματος) καρπ(ών), see SB 12.10805.6 (*BL* 10:205). The restoration suggested here is based on another receipt dealing with the heirs of Daniel, *P.Lond.* 5.1782, which refers to the rent as ἐκφορ(ίων) καρπ(ών).

– δε]υτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος): another document that mentions both Ioannakios and Kollouthos serving in the same capacities and acting on behalf of the church, SB 12.10805, is dated to the first indiction. If this reading is correct, it would suggest that the two men mentioned in this document served as φροντιστής and προνοητής, respectively, for two successive years.

– χρυσοῦ νομισμά(τια) πέντε εὔστα(θμα): the 5 *solidi* rent paid by Daniel is substantial in comparison with other rents paid to the Holy Church in this dossier. Only one other text mentions such a high rent (*P.Lond.* 5.1782). For a list of the rents collected and the amounts paid, refer again to Wipszycka, *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 182-183.

4 [γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ε, καὶ πρὸς σὴν ἀσφάλ(ειαν): The restoration of this line is difficult and there is no good parallel that solves the problems. The addition of a date, written as ἐγρ(άφη) and a month followed by the indiction year, as in *P.Lond.* 5.1784.6 (see also SB 22.15715.7 and 15716.8), would likely be too long. One possible solution is that some amount in carats was specified. The text of SB 12.10805.5-8 provides some suggestion for what we would expect at this point in the receipt: ἐδεξάμην καὶ ἐπληρ(ωσάμην) παρὰ σοῦ ὕ(περ) ἐμφ(υτεύματος) καρπ(ών) πρώτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ὕ(περ) τ(ο)ῦ σοῦ μέρους χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων ἐν εὔστ(αθμον) κεράτια ἑπτά, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νό(μισμα) α κ(εράτια) ζ.

5 Κολλούθου πρ(ονοητοῦ): the Kollouthos who drew up and signed this receipt likely is the same man already known from several other texts in this dossier and appears to act on behalf of the church at Hermopolis in a number of

capacities: προνοητής μερίδος Ἑρμοιπόλεως (*P.Lond.* 3.1072 A and B, *P.Lond.* 5.1784 and 1785, as well as *SB* 22.15715), simply the προνοητής (*P.Lond.* 3.1072 C and D), as the ἀπαιτητής μερίδος Ἑρμοιπόλεως (*SB* 12.10805), and as the νοτάριος καὶ ἀπαιτητής τῶν χρυσικῶν (*SB* 22.15716). E. Wipszycka and P.J. Sijpesteijn conjectured that Kollouthos the ἀπαιτητής μερίδος Ἑρμοιπόλεως is the same Kollouthos identified as προνοητής μερίδος Ἑρμοιπόλεως, as the προνοητής, and as νοτάριος καὶ ἀπαιτητής τῶν χρυσικῶν; for discussion of these points, see Wipszycka, *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 184, and P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 263. While the writing of προνοητοῦ in this text and several others (such as *P.Lond.* 5.1784 and 1785 as well as *P.Lond.* 3.1072 C and D) seems ambiguous, based on the writing of Kollouthos' title in *P.Lond.* 3.1072 A and B as προνοητής in line 1, it seems likely that he does not serve as a πρεσβύτερος.

The προνοητής appears to function in these documents as an agent of the church whose primary duty was to oversee and manage, generally speaking, the estate holdings of a particular church. For a more detailed discussion of the management of these estates, and the bureaucracy involved, see Wipszycka (n. 2) 144ff.

6 [ἡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). †]: there is room at the bottom of the papyrus to allow for a sixth line to end the receipt. There is no cross at the conclusion of line 5, which would suggest that the text continued on the next line. Other texts in this dossier suggest that στοιχεῖ μοι is followed with a formula such as ἡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) followed by a cross. That seems to be how Kollouthos ended the receipt in *SB* 12.10805.12: στοιχεῖ μοι ἡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). [†]; see also *SPP* 3.272.5 for a parallel example from another author. At the very least, we would expect a cross to conclude line 5 after writing στοιχεῖ μοι, as Kollouthos ended the receipt preserved as *SB* 22.15715.

The Dossier of Flavia Anastasia, Part One: Document Prescripts

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Abstract

Six document prescripts are the first installment in the serial publication of the dossier of Flavia Anastasia, an Oxyrhynchite landholder attested in the last quarter of the sixth century.

What follows is the first installment in the serial publication of the dossier of Flavia Anastasia, an Oxyrhynchite landholder whose *floruit* was the last quarter of the sixth century. This edition of the Anastasia papyri is organized by document type. Six prescripts are presented here; future parts will concern sureties, receipts for irrigation machinery, other receipts, leases and loans, accounts, and varia. The series will conclude with a synthetic essay – exploring, *inter alia*, the contribution of this middling landholder's dossier to the Apion-dominated historiography of the late antique Oxyrhynchite – as well as indices and a master list of addenda and corrigenda.¹

The Anastasia dossier has been known since the early part of the twentieth century (1910), but its publication has been plagued by delays. Certainly the fragmentary nature of the material itself has contributed to these, and one objective of this serial publication is to “flush out” any unknown parts of the dossier. Its recognized components are scattered between Giessen (which holds the bulk of the identified unpublished material), Erlangen, Oxford, New York (Columbia University), and Ann Arbor (University of Michigan); a piece in Leuven was destroyed in the Second World War (May 1940). The follow-

¹ To the memory of l'abbé Joseph van Haelst.

Hickey thanks Prof. Dr. Manfred Landfester for his permission to publish the Giessen portion of the dossier and for the warm hospitality (and outstanding working conditions) that he enjoyed when he studied the originals in 1998 and 2006. Both authors are grateful to this journal's referees and editors for their comments on the manuscript.

The photographs appear courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Giessen. The image of P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv. 55 is a composite of high-resolution “tiles” made by Hickey in 2006, which was then enhanced for legibility in Adobe Photoshop CS4.

ing publications, which are presented in chronological order, are editions (or descriptions) of material in the dossier:

- O. Eger, "Papyri der Gießener Universitätsbibliothek," *APF* 5 (1913) 573 (partial transcription of *SB* 6.9561, on which see further below)
- *P.Erl.* 37 (+ *BL* 10:66; fourth quarter VI)
- J. van Haelst, "De nouvelles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus (I)," *CdÉ* 33 (1958) 237-242 (= *SB* 6.9368; 577-578).
- id., "De nouvelles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus (II)," *CdÉ* 34 (1959) 292-299 (= *SB* 6.9561; January 2, 590)
- id., "De nouvelles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchus," *Pap-Congr. XI* 586-590 (indicates on pp. 587-88 that the "dossier" consists of *SB* 6.9368, 9561; *P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv.* 36, 37, 41 [= 4 below], 43-47 [44 = 1 below], 49, 50 [*P.Select.* 20] 67; *P.Erl.* 37, 87).
- *P.Select.* 20 (+ *BL* 10:113; November, 28, 592)
- *P.Oxy.* 44.3204 (+ *BL* 8:267; January 2, 588)
- P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Varia Papyrologica III," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 270-271 (= *SB* 22.15723; end VI).
- T.M. Hickey, "Reuniting Anastasia: *P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv.* 56 + *P.Erl.* 87 (with some notes on other Erlangen papyri)," *APF* 49 (2003) 199-206 (November 25, 591).
- *P.Oxy.* 69.4756 (March 10, 590)
- *P.Oxy.* 69.4757 (late VI)
- *P.Oxy.* 69.4758 (late VI)
- A Cairo text, *P.Oxy.* 16.2020 (ca. 567-588), may also be noted. This account of *arcarica* mentions Anastasia alongside other Oxyrhynchite elites of the period.

The article by Hickey cited above includes a discussion of the acquisition history of the dossier, while Gonis (in *P.Oxy.* 69, pp. 210-11) includes some remarks on the archaeological context of the archive within the dossier. He notes that the inventory numbers of the four Oxford papyri "suggest that they lay close to each other in the same rubbish heap until they were unearthed in Grenfell and Hunt's first excavation season" (1896/7). This same mound, which was "not thoroughly dug," could well have yielded many (perhaps even all) of the papyri that were eventually acquired through the antiquities market.

In the apparatus of the texts an overstroke representing final *upsilon* is not indicated, nor is the interchange of ι and ει. The Oxyrhynchite nome is the provenance of each text.

1. Document addressed to Flavia Anastasia by georgoi from a ktema of hers

P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv. 44 H x W = 12.7 x 10.4 cm September 26, 587

There is a vertical *kollesis* ca. 4.3 cm from the left edge of the papyrus. The writing is with the fibers. The scribe of this papyrus was also responsible for the unpublished surety P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. inv. 49, but the lines in that fragment are significantly longer (for which reason distinct texts seem likely).

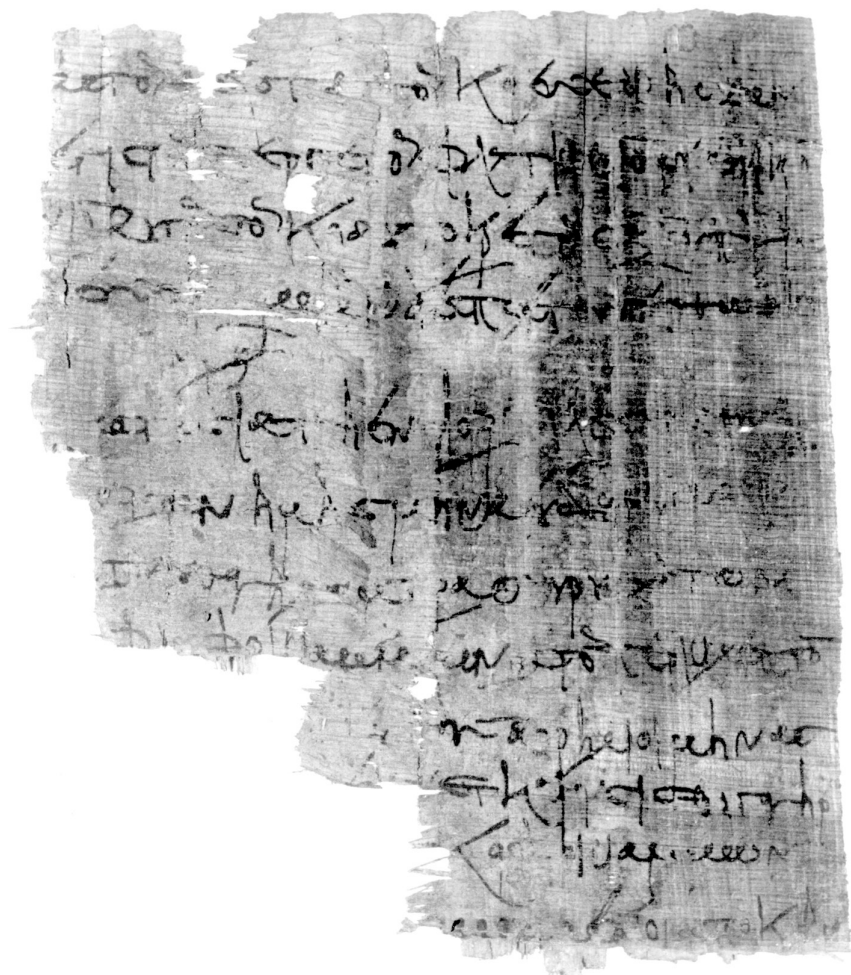
- 1 [Ρ βασιλεί]ας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
[δεσπότου μ]εγίστου ξυεργέτου Φλ(αοίου) Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου
[τοῦ αἰω]νίου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους ̅ ὑπατίας
4 [τοῦ αὐτ]οῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ̅ Θῶθ κη
vacat ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ̅
[Φλ(αοία) Ἀν]αστασία τῇ ἐνδοξο(τάτῃ) ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ
[τοῦ τῆς ἐνδ]όξο(υ) μνήμης Μηνᾶ Εὐδαίμονος
8 [γεουχούση ἐ]γταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν
[πόλει διὰ σοῦ] Φλ(αοίου) Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ περιβλέπτου
[κόμετος καὶ διοικητ]οῦ αὐτῆς Αὐρήλιοι Μηνᾶς
]ε . . . ετ καὶ Ἰσις θυγάτηρ
12] . καὶ Φοιβάμμων
ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος)
-

1 εὐσεβ, 2 Φλs (so also line 9) 3 αυτοκρ/ 4 δεσπs 5 ινδ, 6 ενδοξο,
(so also l. 7) 11 ἰσις 13 κτημ,

“In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and *imperator*, year 6, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 5, Thoth 28, indiction 6. To Flavia Anastasia, most glorious *illoustris*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, landholder here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Phoibammon, *spectabilis comes* and her *dioiketes*, from Aurelius Menas ... and Aurelia Isis daughter ... and Aurelius Phoibammon ... originating from the *ktema* ...”

1-4 For the regnal formula, see Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*² 260-261 (Maurice no. 3). It is employed in all of the texts presented in this installment.

6 For *illoustris*, see the remarks in *P.Oxy.* 69.4756.5n., which include discussion of the title's frequent association with the pagarchy. Anastasia's connection with the pagarchy is certain; see already *P.Oxy.* 44.3204.12.



7 For Menas and his father Eudaimon see N. Gonis, “Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus,” *Tyche* 17 (2002) 93-97. (*P.Oxy.* 16.2016 does not pertain; see now *APF* 55 [2009] 91, n. 6.)

8 [γεουχούση ἐ]νταῦθα: with one possible exception, texts in the dossier do not indicate that Anastasia has landholdings outside of the Oxyrhynchite (i.e., γεουχούση καὶ ἐνταῦθα).

— The *rho* of λαμπρᾶ has been transformed into a *chrismon* (so also, e.g., in inv. 58.8 [= 3 below]).

9-10 Anastasia's affairs are managed by the *spectabilis comes* and *dioiketes* Flavius Phoibammon also in SB 6.9368.1 (592/3), 8.9561.11 (January 2, 590); P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. inv. 41, 55, 58 [4, 2, 3 below], 35 (August 3, 590), 37 (September 7, 593?), 39 (June 9, 590). The similarly titled Flavius Victor fills the same position in *P.Oxy.* 69.4756 (March 10, 590), and since Fl. Phoibammon is attested as *dioiketes* in later documents (e.g., 4 below), it is apparent that Anastasia employed at least two *dioiketai* at a time; note also the undated *P.Erl.* 37, in which her intermediary is the *spectabilis comes* and *dioiketes* Flavius Ioannes. Anastasia acts through an unknown individual of equal status, perhaps a relative, in the surety P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. inv. 65 + *P.Erl.* 87 (= Hickey, "Reuniting Anastasia").

11 The name Elisabet, known in the dossier from *P.Select.* 20.2, does not suit the traces.

2. Receipt for a charitable benefaction (?)

P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv. 55 H x W = 14.7 x 7.7 cm

587/8

No sheet joins are visible. The writing is with the fibers. The right third of the text is rather faded, and there are many nonstandard spellings. The distinctive hand and orthography reappear in the surety P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. inv. 43.

For parallels see *P.Oxy.* 16.1898 and 1993 (full ed. in *P.Oxy.* 70, pp. 144-146).

- 1 [P] βασιλίας τοῦ θειοτάτω καὶ
εὐσεβεστάτω ἡμῶν δεσπότην
μεγίστου εὐεργαίτου Φλαίου
- 4 Μαυρικίου τοῦ εὐωνοίου Ἀβγύστου
καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ζ
ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστ-
άτω ἡμῶν δεσπότην ε[.] . φ±3
- 8 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἔκτης *vacat*
Φλαυία Ἀναστασία τῇ ἐνδο-
ξοτάτῃ ἰλουστρία θυγατρὶ <τοῦ>
τῇ<ς> ἐνδοξο μνήμης Μηνα
- 12 Εὐδέμωνος καὶ <γ>ευχουσα
ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχει-
τὸν πόλεως διὰ σοῦ Φλαυ[ίου]
Φοιβάμμωνος ` τοῦ ` περιπλέπτο[υ]
- 16 κόμητος καὶ διοικητοῦ αὐτῆς

Αὐρήλιος Φεῖβ οἰκονόμος
θευδόκος Μαρία τὴν ὑμετέρ(α)

Endorsement (back, with the fibers):

ⲡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) Φιβ οἰκονόμου θευδόκος Μαρία σι . . [

1 θειοτάτου 2 εὐσεβεστάτου (so also ll. 6-7) 3 εὐεργέτου 4 αἰωνίου
Αὐγούστου 8 ινδ_{///} 10 ἰλλουστρία 11 ἐνδόξου 12 Εὐδαίμονος;
γεουχούση 13-14 λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει 15 περιβλέπτου 16 κόμετ
ος; διοικητοῦ 18 θεοτόκου Μαρίας (so also l. 19); υμετερ 19 αποδειξ,

“In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and *imperator*, year 6, in the consulship of our same most pious master, year ... sixth indiction. To Flavia Anastasia, the most glorious *illoustris*, daughter (of) Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, and landholder here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Phoibammon, *spectabilis comes* and her *dioiketes*, from Aurelius Phib, *oikonomos* of Theotokos Mary ... your ...

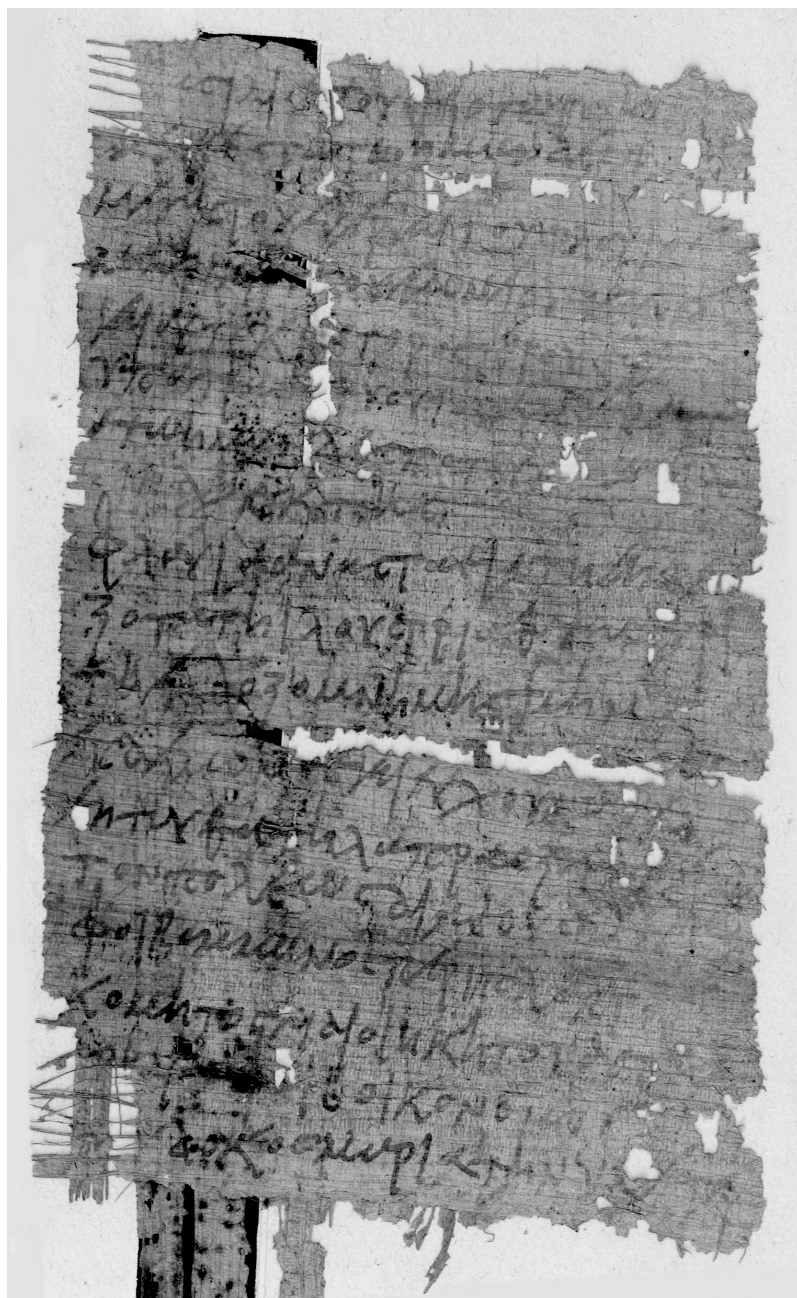
(*Endorsement:*) Receipt of Phib, *oikonomos* of Theotokos Mary ...”

3-4 The absence of Τιβερίου from the regnal formula is novel but does not surprise given the orthography of the document.

6-7 The scribe has not applied the standard syllabification rules to εὐσεβεστ|άτω.

7 At the end of this line we would expect ἔτους *n*, month, day, but the space available seems too limited. Perhaps read <ἔτους> ε[, followed by a short month like Θώθ (note the *omega* in the transcription). The overstroke on the day numeral appears to be extant.

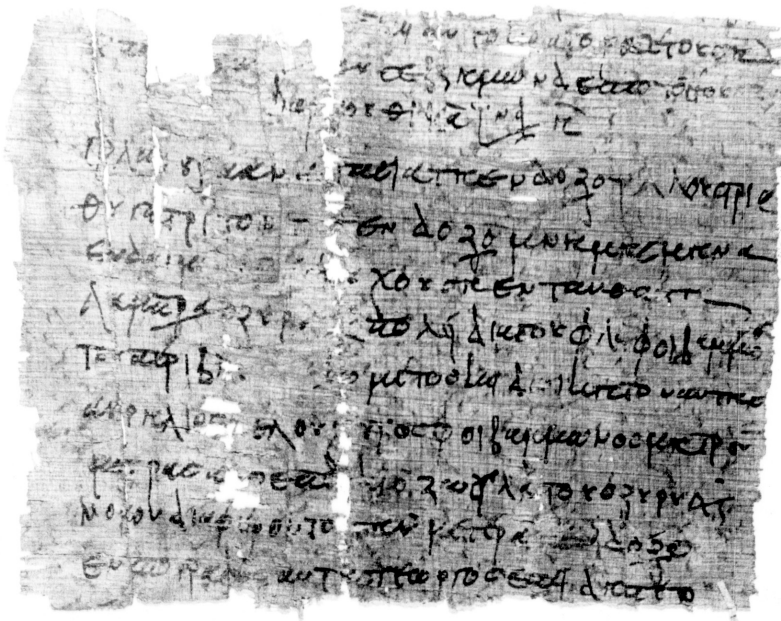
17-18 The language here might seem compressed (in light of, say, *SPP* 20.243.14-16, [οἰ]κονόμον τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς [δεσ]ποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας), but it has numerous parallels; see, e.g., *P.Lond.* 5.1850, where a **πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας is among the subscribers**, as well as *P.Baden* 4.94.9 (+ *BL* 6:9) and *SPP*. 3².54.3. A church of Mary at Oxyrhynchus is known (cf. *P.Oxy.* 67.4617.15n.), but might τὴν ὑμετέρ(α) indicate that this religious foundation is located in one of Anastasia's settlements? For this phenomenon, see E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 140. Alternatively, we might understand τὴν ὑμετέρ(α) as an error for τῆς ἡμετέρ(ας) [δεσποίνης *vel sim.*



ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργός. ἐπειδήπερ
[±1] . [

3 ὑπατίας, εὐσεβς 4 ἰνδ,, 5 φλαουῖα, ενδοξο ἰλλουστρια
6 ενδοξο 8 οξυρυγχ', φλς 10 υἱος 11 ει of ζωειλα < ἱ, οξυρυγχ',
12 ὑμετερα ενδοξο

“... Augustus and *imperator*, year 8, in the consulship of our same most pious lord, year 7, Pharmouthi 21, indiction 8. To Flavia Anastasia, the most glorious *illoustria*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, landholder here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Phoibammon, *spectabilis comes* and her *dioiketes*, from Aurelius Kelouch, son of Phoibammon, his mother being Maura, from the *epoikion* Zoila of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a possession of your glory, your registered agriculturalist. Since ...”



10 For the name Kelouch, see (only) *P.Oxy.* 19.2244.33. The final *chi*, though damaged, is identical to the *chi* in γεουχοῦση (l. 7).

11 Μαύρας; the name is rare; cf. *P.Oxy.* 61.4131.17-18n. Conceivably it could reference a physical characteristic (“black” or “dark”) or even a late antique racial designation (see R.H. Pierce, “A Sale of an Alodian Slave Girl: A Reexamination of Papyrus Strassburg inv. 1404,” *SO* 70 [1995] 151 and refs.). For the Middle Egyptian martyr named Maura (not commemorated by the Coptic Church, at least under this name), see Timm 4:1897 and refs.

- The *epoikion* Zoila does not reappear elsewhere in the dossier.

13 ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς γεωργός; the literature on the *coloni adscripticii* is voluminous and cannot be reviewed here; the papers in E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Terre, proprietari e contadini dell'impero romano: dall'affitto agrario al colonato tardoantico* (Rome 1997), with Scheidel's review article in *JRA* 13 (2000) 727-732, are recommended as an introduction. A.J.B. Sirks, “The Colunate in Justinian's Reign,” *JRS* 98 (2008) 120-143, is an important contribution of more recent date, but it does not integrate the papyrological evidence systematically, and there are some errors of interpretation (see, e.g., p. 135, where it is stated that *phoros* in the context of the adscripticiate must mean “tax”).

4. Document addressed to Flavia Anastasia by her phrontistes Papnouthos

P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv. 41 H x W = 8.9 x 17.8 cm November 23, 590

There seems to be a vertical *kollesis* ca. 7 cm from the right edge of this papyrus. The text is written with the fibers. The left-hand fragment is improperly mounted in the photograph; it should be shifted downward one line. There are some traces of ink above the first line.

- 1 [Ρ βασιλείας τοῦ θ]ειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη
μεγίστου εὐεργέτου
[Φλαουίου] Μαρ[ικί]ου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ
αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
[ἔτους Θ ὑ]πατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη(του) ἔτους
ἡ Αὐθὺρ κζ' ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) θ
- 4 [Φλαουία] Ἀναστασία τῇ ἐ[ν]δοξ(οτάτῃ) ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ τοῦ
τῆς ἐνδόξου
[μνήμης Μ]ηνᾶ Ε[ὐ]δαίμονος γεουχούση ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
Ὁξυρυχ(ιτῶν)
[πόλει διὰ] σοῦ Φλαουίου Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμετος καὶ
[διοικητοῦ] αὐτ[ῆς] Αὐρήλιος Παπνοῦθος φροντιστὴς υἱὸς Πασατίου

1 ευσεβς (also l. 3) 2 αυτοκρ\ 3 δεσπ°, ἰνδ°// 4 ενδοξ, 5 Οξυρυγχ',
6 φλαουῖου 7 υἱος

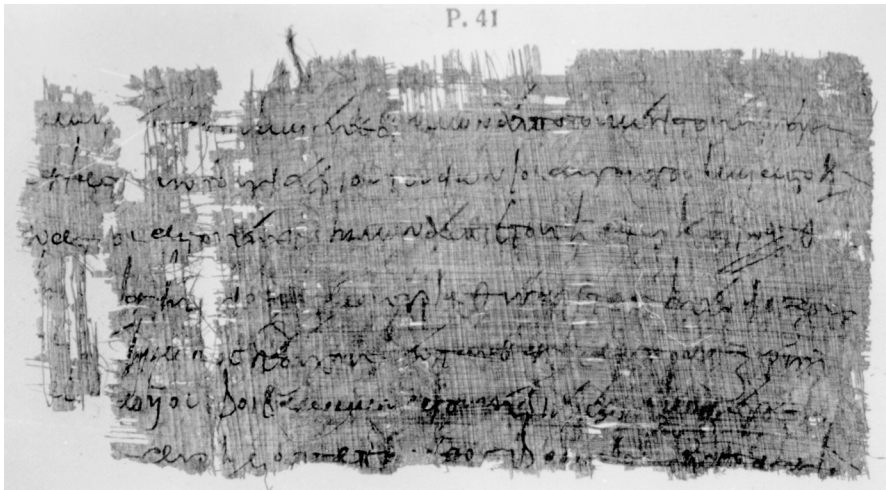
"In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and *imperator*, (year 9,) in the consulship of our same most pious master, year 8, Hathyr 27, indication 9. To Flavia Anastasia the most glorious *illoustris*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, landholder here in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Phoibammon, *spectabilis comes* and her *dioiketes*, from Aurelius Pappouthos *phrontistes*, son of Pasati(o)s ..."

2 In consequence of its ligature with the following *epsilon*, the *beta* of Τιβερίου is written rather irregularly. Cf. also the *beta* of περιβλέπτου (l. 6).

3 For ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς), cf. A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs. Recherches de paléographie* (London 1974) 13.

7 The name Pasati(o)s is otherwise attested only in *P.Laur.* 3.75.11, 31 (574), where an Aurelius Pamouthis, son of Pasati(o)s, appears as a resident of an *epoikion* belonging to the Apion estate.

For the position of *phrontistes*, cf. *P.Oxy.* 62.4351 along with R. Mazza, *L'archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 129. See also *P.Oxy.* 70.4792.10n.



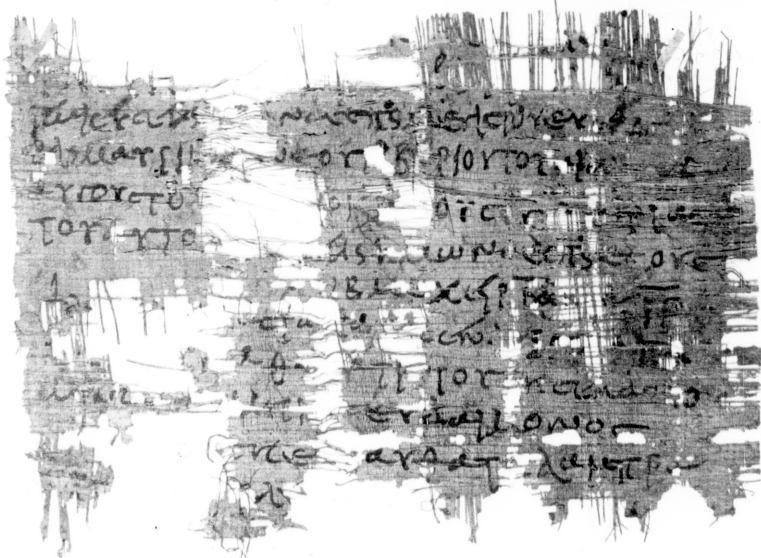
5. Unidentified document

P.bibl.univ.Giss. inv. 59 H x W = 9.5 x 13.3 cm February 18(?), 594

This tattered medium brown papyrus has no visible sheet joins. Its writing runs with the fibers.

- 1 [-----]κ[.]δ.[±2].η...[
του.ψ...[-----]βα[σ]ιλ...[.]...[
καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμ]ῶν δεσπό(του) μεγίστου εὐεργέ[του]
4 Φλ(αουίου) Μαυρικί[ου] Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰω[ν]ίου
Αὐγούστου [καὶ αὐτο]κρ(άτορος) [ἔ]τους [ι]γ ὑπατίας
τοῦ αὐτοῦ[υ] εὐσ]εβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους
vacat ιβ Μεχείρ κδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιγ
8 Φλα[ο]υί[α] Ἀγαστα[σ]ία τῇ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ
ἰλ[λουσ]τρ[ί]α θυ[γ]ατρὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου
μνήμης Μηνᾶ Εὐδαίμονος
[γεουχού]ση ἐγταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
12 Ὁξυ[ρυγχ]ι(τῶν) π[ό]λε[ι] ±4]...[±2]...α[.]
[-----]...[-----]

3 ευσεβς, δεσπ^{ος} (so also l. 6) 4 φλς 5 αυτοκρ, ὑπατίας 7 ινδ,



“... and our most pious lord, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Novus Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and *imperator*, year 13, in the consulship of our same most pious lord, year 12, Mecheir 24, indiction 13. To Flavia Anastasia, the most glorious *illoustría*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, landholder here in the splendor of the Oxyrhynchites ...”

1-2 The document presumably commenced with a Christian invocation. The only invocation attested in papyri dating to the reign of Maurice is $\text{ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν}$ (Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*² 290), but the scant remains in these lines do not allow for confident restoration. The regnal formula seems to have begun in l. 2, yet the position of the apparent remnants of βασιλείας leaves little room for θειοτάτου.

6. Document addressed to Flavia Anastasia by Aurelius Ioustos

P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 78

591/2 or later

A text in two fragments; two lines of writing are missing between the pieces.³ The script is with the fibers.

The author's *origo* was Flavia Anastasia's *epoikion* Neophyton.

A. H x W = 3.2 x 6.7 cm. There is no *kollesis* visible.

1 -----
 ινδ](ικτίονος) ι[
 [Φλαουία Ἀναστ]ασία τῇ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῃ) ἰλλουστρία
 [θυγατρὶ τοῦ τ]ῆς ἐνδόξου μηνῆς
 4 [Μηνᾶ Εὐδαίμονος γ]ε[ουχ]ούση ἐνταῦθα

2 ἐνδοξ, ἰλλουστρία

B. H x W = 3.2 x 11.5 cm. There is a *kollesis* 4.2 cm from the left edge.

1 -----
 βλ. [-----] .. [-----
 Αὐρήλιος Ἰουῆτος υἱὸς Μουσαίου μητρὸς
 Σοφίας ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
 4 Νεοφ[ύτου (τοῦ) Ὀξ]υρυγχίτου νομοῦ διαφέροντος

³ We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that these fragments derive from different texts.

2 ἰουστου υἱος pap.

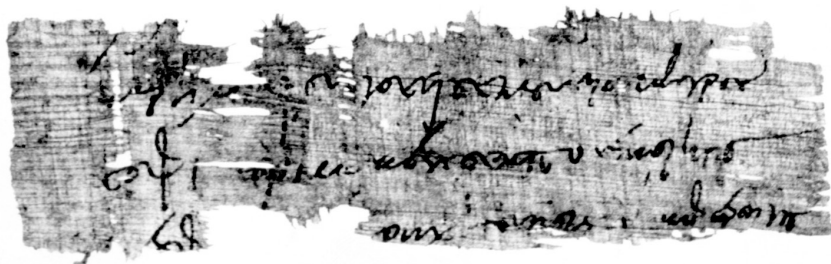
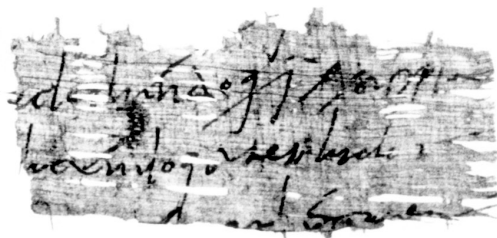
A: "... indiction 1- ... To Flavia Anastasia, the most glorious *illoustría*, daughter of Menas, son of Eudaimon, of glorious memory, landholder here ..."

B: "... From Aurelius Ioustos, son of Mousaios, his mother being Sophia, originating from the *epoikion* Neophyton of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a possession of ..."

1 -βλ- is positioned where formula leads us to expect -βλέπτου (of περιβλέπτου), but we cannot read *epsilon* after *lambda*.

4 <τοῦ>: the length of the lacuna seems insufficient for the expected article before Ὁξυρυγχίτου.

– Anastasia's *epoikion* Neophyton recurs in P.Bibl.Univ.Giss. 57. A homonymous settlement appears in *P.Oxy.* 57.3914.6 (519), but this need not have been associated with Anastasia's ancestors. Settlements named Neophyton ("new plantation") were common; see from Anastasia's own estate *P.Select.* 20.3 (ἐποικίου Νεοφύτου Βάνου), as well as, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 68.4702.7 (ἐποικίου Νεοφύτου Ἀντιόχου; 520). See further A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey* (Köln and Leuven 2009) 175-177 (available from <http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>).



Dreams in Bilingual Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period

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Abstract

This article analyses a group of bilingual papyri from the Ptolemaic period concerning dreams and argues that these papyri show an interest in the language (and not just the “message”) of dreams. After relating this phenomenon to ancient linguistic dream interpretation, consideration is given to the preponderance of Demotic (not Greek) dream-books, and the suggestion is made that Egyptian may have been the preferred language of dream interpretation in Greco-Roman Egypt.

The long-held belief that dreams contain “messages,” whether from gods above or from unconscious drives within, has provided much discursive material for generations of god-fearers and atheists. Although the nature of these messages seems to have evolved since antiquity, it is clear that for many ancient dreamers, the awaited, divine message itself rendered dreams valuable.¹ Yet no message can exist apart from the language which conveys it, and this aspect of dream-messages will be the subject of this paper. I will ask whether the language of a dream (not just the dream’s message) held some value, and approach this question through a group of bilingual Ptolemaic papyri where it appears that the language itself is an indispensable element in the message’s conveyance. I will argue first that these Ptolemaic papyri are examples of a single phenomenon, namely, an urge to relate a dream in a dream’s proper language. Then, I will locate the reason for this linguistic choice in dream-interpretation manuals where dreams are often interpreted linguistically, not just symbolically (e.g., if you dream of a “bear,” it means you cannot “bear”

¹ A central thesis of W.V. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA 2009), is that while the ancients often had “epiphany” dreams, in which divine beings provide instruction, modernity has witnessed a near extinction of this oneiric genre, favoring instead the “episodic” dream.

a situation).² Such linguistic interpretation suggests that there is an aspect of dreams that is untranslatable, since a dream's decoding requires the proper understanding of a language's homophones. In the final section, I will consider these dream-manuals more generally and suggest a connection between the behavior attested in these Ptolemaic papyri and a noted disparity between Demotic and Greek dream-books. Although many scholars have concerned themselves with questions as to which language these dreamers "dreamt in," I will arrive at a somewhat different conclusion – one that is of relevance to recent discussion regarding the functional specialization of languages in Greco-Roman Egypt³ –, namely, that the choice of relating a dream in Egyptian may not point to the language of the dream at all but rather the preferred language of dream interpretation.

Ptolemaic papyri of bilingual (or bilinguals') dreams

The first bilingual document to be considered here is a third-century BCE letter, possibly from somewhere in the Fayum, written by a certain Ptolemaios, addressed to a certain Achilles (*PCairo* 10313, 10328, and 30961).⁴ Ptolemaios, writing at first in Greek, discusses some of the day's events and expresses his

² By "linguistic" interpretation, I mean interpretation based on the sounds of words, in which words that sound similar are connected: e.g., the phonetic resemblance of English "bear" (noun) and "bear" (verb) becomes an oneirocritic tool for interpretation.

³ See, e.g., J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)* (Leiden 2005).

⁴ The new edition is G. Renberg and F. Naether, "I Celebrated a Fine Day': An Overlooked Egyptian Phrase in a Bilingual Letter Preserving a Dream Narrative," *ZPE* 175 (2010) 49-71. For Greek and Demotic palaeographical reasons (which date the document to the third century BCE) and the fact that both the Greek and Demotic are written with a reed rather than a rush pen (a transition for Greek-writing Egyptian scribes which Willy Clarysse dates roughly to 230 BCE in "Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek," *CdÉ* 68 [1993] 186-201), Renberg and Naether (pp. 58-59) date the papyrus either to December 11, 221 or December 18, 246 (the date on the papyrus is "Year 2, Phaophi 26"). For previous discussion of the papyrus' dating and provenance – which had been tentatively conjectured by some to be Gurob, although Renberg and Naether reject this in favor of an "unknown provenience" (p. 51) – see E.J. Goodspeed, *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum together with Papyri of Roman Egypt from American Collections* (Chicago 1902); W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* 2 (Leipzig 1908) 200; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* (Leipzig 1911) 46; U. Wilcken and L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 1.2 (Leipzig 1912) 73; W. Peremans, "Über die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Bonn 1964) 56-57; R. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (2nd ed.; Oxford 2004) 229.

intention to tell Achilles about a recent dream “in order that [Achilles] may know the way in which the gods know [him]” (ὅπως εἰδῆις, ὃν τρόπον οἱ θεοὶ σε οἶδασιν). But there is a catch, of sorts: in order to relate this dream properly he must do so in Egyptian. Here is the letter⁵:

(*Frag. 1, recto*) After having received (?) (a letter from you, I wrote this?). Ptolemaios gives Achilles greetings. After having written to you concerning ... (*Frag. 2, recto*) ... it also (?) seemed good to me that I should fully inform you about my dream, so that you will know in what ways the gods know you. I have written below in Egyptian so that you will know precisely. When I was about to go to sleep, I wrote two short letters, the one concerning Taunchis the daughter of Thermouthis and the other concerning Tetimouthis the daughter of Taues, who is the daughter of Ptolemaios, and yet one more exiting (?) I placed ... (*Frag. 3, recto*) ... pour a drink for (or anoint) yourself, in which manner I too celebrated a fine day. Farewell. Year 2, Phaophi 26.

(*At this point in Frag. 3 recto, Ptolemaios starts to write in Demotic*) I saw myself in a dream in the following way.⁶ I am standing at the doorway of the sanctuary. A priest is sitting there, and many people are standing beside him. The priest spoke to the people who were standing there: “...” (*Frag. 3, verso*) ... I spoke to the aforementioned

⁵ Text and translation from Renberg and Naether (n. 4): (frag. 1, recto) [1] μετὰ τὸ δέξαι. (space) [2] Πτολεμαῖος Ἀχιλλεῖ χαίρειν. [3] μετὰ τὸ γράψαι σοι περὶ τοῦ [4] (traces) (frag. 2, recto) [1] [ἔδο]ξεν [μο]ι κ[α]ὶ περὶ τοῦ [2] ὁράματος διασαφῆσαι σοι, [3] ὅπως εἰδῆις ὃν τρόπον [4] οἱ θεοὶ σε οἶδασιν. Αἰγυπτισ- [5] τὶ δὲ ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως [6] ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆις. ἡνίκα [7] ἡμελλον κοιμηθῆναι, [8] ἔγραψα ἐπιστόλια β, ἐν μὲν [9] περὶ Ταύγχιος τῆς ἐκ [10] Θερμού[θ]ι[ο]ς, ἐν δὲ περὶ Τετε- [11] ἰμούθιος τῆς Ταῦητος, ἣ ἐστίν [12] Πτολεμαίου θυγάτηρ, καὶ [13] ἐν ἔτι ἐξῴ[ν] ξθηκα. [. . .] (missing lines) (frag. 3, recto) [1] (traces) [2] ἐπιχέου, ὃν τρόπον κάγω [3] ἡμέραν καλὴν ἡγαγον. [4] ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Φαῶφι κς. [5] *i-ir=y nw r-hr=y n rs^tw.t¹ iw=w ddw=y¹ h^c* [6] *r p3 r3 [n] p3 nty w^cb iw wn w^c w^cb hms iw wn rmt¹ ʿš3 [7] h^c irm=f mt p3 w^cb n n3 rmt¹.w iw wn-n3w¹ h^c dd* [8] (traces) (frag.3, verso) [1] *mt=y [p3 w^c]b rn=f dd p3 rmt¹ n Pa-Imn(?) nm p3y [2] dd=f Nb(.t)-wdy t3y tw=s p3 w3h [3] r-dd=w n=y hr-hr=y p3 rmt¹ n Pa-Imn(?) r-dd=f p3 ʿnh p3y [4] iw=f dd Ta-ʿnh iw=s dd r-ir=y p3 rmt¹ n Pa-Imn [5] nm p3y iw=f dd Nb(.t)-wdy t3y-dd n-im=f [6] p3 nty-iw=f n-im=f dd shm.t t3y p3-bnr n p3 di.t n=y (?) (lines missing) [frag. 2, verso] [1] [.....¹ r . i-ir-hr=k¹ n n3-i-ir(?) ... twn(?)=k s(or n=y) dd] [2] *P3-Šy <p3> ntr ʿ3 rh rn=k sw n=y(?) n-im=s n h3t [3] p3 sh nfr st ir-rh s sh h3.t-sp 2.t ibd 2 3h.t sw 26* [five indecipherable lines follow here in a different hand]. [frag. 1, verso] [1] εἰς [Φι]λ-?Θε[?]αδέλφειαν, Ἀχιλλεῖ.*

⁶ For the stock Egyptian phrase “I saw myself in a dream,” see J.D. Ray, “Phrases Used in Dream-Texts” in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Leuven 1987) 85-94 at 87.

priest: "The man of Pamoun – who is it?" He said: "It is Nebwotis." See, the answer which they gave me: the man of Pamoun whom he named: "He is/That's life." He says: "Taunchis," (and) she said to me: "The man of Pamoun, who is it?" He said, "Nebwotis is it, who has said it." The one who is there says: "A woman is it outside giving to me (?) ..." (*Frag. 2, verso*) ... Psais, <the> great god, knows your name; I recognized (?) it in my heart. The good order, may it be known. Written in Year 2, Phaophi 26.

...

(*Frag. 1, verso*) To (Phil-? The-?)adelpheia, for Achilles.

As can be seen from the second and third fragments, Ptolemaios begins writing in Demotic instead of Greek, in order, he claims, to narrate the dream properly. This poses the main question which must be dealt with in this section: why would someone feel the need to switch languages in order to describe a dream?

It is, of course, possible that the reason for Ptolemaios' language shift in this letter has nothing at all to do with the dream itself:⁷ perhaps the letter-recipient, Achilles, was more comfortable reading Demotic than Greek, or perhaps Ptolemaios was more comfortable writing Egyptian, or perhaps both. But these possibilities, although reasonable, either do not fully explain the situation or dissolve altogether under scrutiny. On the question of language competence, Wilcken understood the situation clearly a century ago: in writing the line Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆις, Ptolemaios "surely could not have been suggesting that Achilles' Greek was inadequate, for then he would not have written him a Greek letter in the first place."⁸ Indeed, neither Ptolemaios' Greek nor his Demotic betrays any lack in language proficiency, and, if Achilles had the ability to read a rather informative letter about their shared acquaintances, it makes little sense to argue that he would be unable to read about these same acquaintances in a dream narrative.

So too, more general interpretations of code-switching – namely, that language-shifts between bilinguals often represent solidarity and "the feeling of a shared mixed identity or culture"⁹ –, although applicable, cannot fully explain the letter's language shift, because, unlike most code-switches, here the writer is actually explaining his reason for the change of language: "so that you

⁷ For other bilingual Greco-Egyptian letters see M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter* (Sommerhausen 2006) 296-297.

⁸ Wilcken (n. 4) 74: "Damit kann kaum gemeint sein, dass er ihm nicht recht das Verständnis des Griechischen zuschreibt, denn dann hätte er ihm doch überhaupt nicht einen griechischen Brief geschrieben."

⁹ J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge 2003) 301.

may accurately understand.” This is not the signal of two Egyptians wishing to revert to their mother tongue, but rather one which seems to point to the dream itself: as if Egyptian, not Greek, were the proper vehicle for the dream, the vehicle by which the dream might be properly “understood.” Ultimately, it makes little difference whether one considers these two men to be Greek-trained Egyptians, Demotic-trained Hellenes, or, as I prefer, ethnically-mixed bilinguals – once language competence is set aside (i.e., they are bilinguals), the same question arises in all of these scenarios: why does this man simply not continue writing his dream in Greek?¹⁰ It seems important for Ptolemaios that his dream be communicated in Egyptian, whether because the dream was itself “in Egyptian” (inasmuch as any dream is language-bound) or for some other reason. Although I will consider possible explanations for this emphasis on the appropriate language of dreams (in the next section), for now I wish to show that this phenomenon can be observed elsewhere during the Ptolemaic period, not just in this particular third-century letter.

In the Serapeum archive – a second-century BCE collection of Greek and Demotic documents consisting (mostly) of the personal accounts of two brothers inhabiting a Memphite temple¹¹ – one can find a similar interest in the “language” of dreams. As the temple was one in which incubation was practiced, dream records make up a significant part of the archive: twenty-two dreams are recorded in Greek, seven in Demotic. It is contentious whether either brother could actually write or read Demotic – indeed, the vast majority of the Demotic texts primarily served the brothers as writing not to be read, but as writing material to be washed (i.e., the papyri were reused for the sake of writing Greek accounts).¹² However, with dreams (and, in my view, only with dreams)¹³ the situation seems to be different: efforts are made either to record

¹⁰ The mixed ethnicity was a conclusion first offered by Wilcken (n. 4) 74: “Sie werden ägyptische Frauen, wenn nicht schon ägyptische Mütter gehabt haben.” Regarding ethnicity in the Ptolemaic period more generally, and the importance of differentiating the terms “race” and “ethnicity,” see D. McCoskey, “Race Before ‘Whiteness’: Studying Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Critical Sociology* 28 (2002) 13–39.

¹¹ For a good introduction to the documents (and lives) of the Serapeum dwellers see D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988) 212–265.

¹² For an overview of the Demotic documents, see W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, “A Demotic Lease of Temple Land Reused in the *Katokhoi* Archive,” *Ancient Society* 36 (2006) 1–11 at 2. For the Demotic literature and its relationship to the archive as a whole, see W. Clarysse, “Literary Papyri in Documentary ‘Archives,’” in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Leuven 1983) 43–61.

¹³ The main non-dream candidate is P.Louvre N 2414 recto: three columns of a demotic wisdom text. Because Greek was written around rather than over the Demotic wisdom text (as with P.Louvre 2377 verso and P.Louvre N 2380 verso), some claim that

dreams or have dreams recorded in the Egyptian language. Three documents are of interest here: Ptolemaios' records of the dreams of Nekthembes (*UPZ* 79), Apollonios' copy of the "Dream of Nectanebo" (*UPZ* 81), and the Demotic records of Apollonios' dreams (P.Bologna 3173 and 3171).¹⁴

The first document to be considered is that of the elder brother Ptolemaios (*UPZ* 79). Although all of Ptolemaios' documents are exclusively in Greek, there is one particular document in which something odd seems to occur. This is a personal record of the dreams of Nekthembes, Ptolemaios' Egyptian acquaintance. That these dream records are for the use of Ptolemaios (and not for Nekthembes) can be seen from the fact that the only dreams which are of interest to Ptolemaios are Nekthembes' dreams about himself (Ptolemaios) and those of immediate concern to him – as if Ptolemaios were collecting information from various sources in order to understand his own situation with the gods.¹⁵ What is of interest here, however, is the language of this information, which seems to be bilingual. Here is the dream record:

τὸ πρῶτον ἐνύπνιον, ὃ εἶδεν Νεκθονβῆς πρὲι τῶν διδυμῶν καὶ
ἐμαυτοῦ· Ἀπολλώνιον εἶδον, προσπορεύεται μοι· λέγει· χαῖρε, Νεκ-
θεμβῆς, καλῶς· τὸ δεῦτερ[ον]· φαφηρε σι ενρηξ Παῦνι ἐν τῷ Βου-

the latter was actually saved for literary purposes. Recently B. Legras, "La diglossie des *enkatokhoi* grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis," *Ktèma* 32 (2007) 251–264 at 259, has suggested that the older brother Ptolemaios may have been behind this text, resuscitating an old view of E. Revillout (who, writing in 1880, would have certainly changed his views about the "Greekness" of these wisdom texts – and thus Ptolemaios' imagined role – after the discovery of other Demotic wisdom texts). Obvious evidence against Ptolemaios' ability to write Demotic is *UPZ* 1.79 (see Legras at 261), and the general re-use of Demotic papyri in the archive. Indeed, Ptolemaios can barely write Greek well (see H. Glitsch, *De Ptolemaei et Apollonii, Glauciae filiorum, chartis quaestiones linguisticae* [diss. Leipzig 1929]), let alone the Demotic "of a practiced professional" (G.R. Hughes "The Blunders of an Inept Scribe" in G. Kadish and G. Freeman [eds.], *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams: A Festschrift* [Toronto 1982] 51–67 at 51).

¹⁴ As the relationship between Apollonios and the Petersburg ostrakon (O.Pet. 1129) is more contentious (and does not affect my argument), I omit discussion here. See Legras (n. 13) 260 for recent bibliography and discussion of the issue, and cf. Thompson (n. 11) 245; N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 1986), 81; and U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* 1 (Berlin 1927) 351.

¹⁵ Ptolemaios labels these dreams "the dreams that Nekthembes saw involving the twins and myself" (translation of this line from N. Lewis, *The Interpretation of Dreams and Portents in Antiquity* [Toronto-Sarasota 1976] 50). This is a point worth emphasizing, because it rejects the possibility raised by Legras (n. 13) 261 that Nekthembes was asking Ptolemaios to translate these dreams for Nekthembes' purposes.

βαστείωι **χμεννι** ἐν τῷ οἴκωι τῷ Ἀμμωνος **πελ λελ χασον χανι**. τὸ τρίτον ...

The first dream which Nekthembes saw about the twins and me: I saw Apollonios, he comes to me and says: "A good greeting to you, Nekthembes." The second [dream]: *Phaphere si enreex* Pauni in the Boubastos temple *chmenni* in the house of Ammon *pel lel chason chani*. The third dream ...

Although the highlighted sections of the text have not been deciphered, they are generally agreed to be some corrupted form of Egyptian.¹⁶ Wilcken writes in his commentary that these lines are probably the first example of Egyptian words transcribed into Greek letters, but they are not.¹⁷ The recently published Greco-Egyptian wordlist P.Heid.inv. G414 (dated to the third century BCE) predates Ptolemaios' document and puts it into perspective.¹⁸ Here too Egyptian words are transcribed into Greek letters, which has led to the conjecture that the document was probably used by "Greek mercenaries who were forced to settle in the Egyptian countryside."¹⁹ If the conjectured use of this wordlist is correct, the document provides a helpful parallel for the transliterated Egyptian of Ptolemaios' hand: namely, it suggests that Egyptian written in Greek letters is not the work of someone trained in Demotic, but that of someone who requires a substitute for the Demotic script.²⁰ This is a point worth emphasizing because it clearly frames Ptolemaios' attempt to record certain words of Nekthembes' dream. Even though Ptolemaios must have come into contact with the Egyptian language on a daily basis, it is only here in the archive that he attempts to transcribe this language that he cannot write. Only in the context of reporting dreams does he have this sudden urge to abandon Greek words for Egyptian ones. As with the third-century bilingual letter discussed above, it is not clear what were the reasons for Ptolemaios' sudden impulse to make this (rather awkward) language shift, but it is enough to notice that only in the context of dreams Ptolemaios does so.

Recently, Bernard Legras has considered this passage *vis-à-vis* the brothers' bilingualism and suggests two possibilities for Ptolemaios' shift: first, that Nekthembes' dream itself might have been bilingual;²¹ second, that the dream

¹⁶ Wilcken (n. 14) 366; N. Lewis (n. 14) 84; and Thompson (n. 11) 264.

¹⁷ Wilcken (n. 14).

¹⁸ H. Quecke, "Eine griechisch-ägyptische Wörterliste vermutlich des 3. Jh. v. Chr. (P. Heid. Inv.-Nr. G. 414)," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 67-80.

¹⁹ Dieleman (n.3) 191.

²⁰ See n. 13 for discussion.

²¹ Legras (n. 13) 261: "Il faudrait alors comprendre que ce rêve bilingue a été fait en égyptien et en grec, Nektembès étant alors un parfait bilingue. Mais il faut alors se

itself might have been described by Nekthembes in Egyptian, with Ptolemaios translating Nekthembes' dream into Greek. The occasional word left untranslated, in Legras' opinion, may be conveying the fact that the Greek was a translation.²² This latter conjecture has some merit, and Legras draws a useful parallel from elsewhere in the archive: the *Dream of Nectanebo*, a fragment of which was copied by Ptolemaios' younger brother, Apollonios. As this romance is now known to be a translation of an Egyptian original,²³ the literary fragment provides a suitable parallel for the translation hypothesis. Here is the passage of interest:

Νεκτοναβῶς τοῦ βασιλέως καταγινομένου ἐν Μέμφει καὶ θυσίαν
ποτὲ συντελεσαμένου καὶ ἀξιώσαντος τοὺς θεοὺς δηλῶσαι αὐτῶι
τὰ ἐνεσθηκότα ἔδοξεν κατ' ἐνύπνιον πλοῖον παπύρινον, ὃ καλεῖται
ἀγυπτιστεῖ **ῥωψ**, προσορμῆσαι εἰς Μέμφιν ...

When Nektanebo was king in Memphis, one day after making a sacrifice and asking the gods to reveal to him the future, he dreamt that he was on a papyrus boat, which is called *hrops* in Egyptian, setting out to Memphis ...

Here again, as in Ptolemaios' dream records, there is this rather anomalous, self-conscious shift to Egyptian – which, for Legras, may be a generic signal of sorts that the text is a translation from an Egyptian original.

There is no immediate reason to reject Legras' hypothesis, but if it is accepted, two problems remain unsolved. If this slip into Egyptian were a familiar, generic gesture signaling the text's status as a translation, why does this gesture not occur elsewhere in the archive (other than Nekthembes' dream) or, to my knowledge, elsewhere in known Greek translations of Egyptian originals? Second, why do the only two cases of this phenomenon in the archive (a

demander quelle partie du rêve a été fait par Nektembès en égyptien et quelle partie en grec." A similar view is held by Thompson (n. 11) 264, who calls it a "bilingual dream": "so the bilingual dream of Nektembès, recorded for him by Ptolemaios, is transcribed only in Greek."

²² Legras (n. 13) 261: "Une solution serait d'admettre le désir de Ptolémaios de signifier que ce rêve a été fait en égyptien et que sa transcription en grec en constitue une traduction partielle." An anonymous *BASP* editor has suggested that this brief translation (as well as the one found in Nectanebo's dream) may have been present to provide "local color" to the text.

²³ See K. Ryholt, "A Demotic Version of Nectanebo's Dream (P. Carlsberg 562)," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 197–200, with further discussion in K. Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis," in A. Blasius and B. Schipper (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten* (Leuven 2002) 221–241.

switch from Greek to Egyptian) occur within the context of dreams? Nowhere else does Ptolemaios attempt this strange fumbling of transliterated Egyptian; nowhere else in Apollonios' writings is there such an interest in Egyptian translation.²⁴ That Apollonios' excerpt from the Nectanebo romance was valued most likely for its dream content is shown not only by its relationship to the dozens of dreams recorded in the archive, but by that ever-lamented fact that the text breaks off precisely when (for the modern reader) it becomes interesting.²⁵ Whether one accepts Legras' translation hypothesis or not, in both cases only in the context of dreams is there any interest in translation into Egyptian. Why does this linguistic urge occur only in dreams?

Before considering this question, one last piece of evidence ought to be adduced: the Demotic dream records of Apollonios. Because these contain the same names as the main characters in the brothers' circle, it has been generally agreed that these are the dreams of the younger brother, Apollonios, who inhabited the Serapeum temple for a number of months.²⁶ Scholarly opinion has been divided, however, on whether Apollonios himself recorded these dreams or had someone else record them for him, since it is questionable whether he actually knew how to read and write Demotic. But I would like to show that, whichever position one assumes regarding Apollonios' Egyptian literacy, the question remains: why does Apollonios write in Demotic or have someone else write Demotic for him only regarding dreams? If these Demotic dreams are not written by Apollonios, it is strange that this young man would go out of his way to have someone else record his dreams for him, just so that he may have these records written in Egyptian – which he would later not be able to read. On the other hand, if this is indeed the hand of Apollonios and he is recording his own dreams, it is strange that there are no slips into Demotic Egyptian anywhere else in the archive when it comes to personal documents. Of all the personal documents of the archive, the only time Apollonios requires the Demotic script is for his dream records. Thus, no matter what one's position is on Apollonios' Egyptian literacy, the question remains the same: why do only his dreams require a Demotic hand?

²⁴ With the exception perhaps of his own name: "Apollonios speaks Greek, Peteharenpi speaks Egyptian," which is also in the context of one of his Demotic dreams (discussed below). See Thompson (n. 11) 263; Legras (n. 13) 259-260.

²⁵ See, e.g., Ryholt (n. 23) 197: "Just as a love story is about to evolve, [Apollonios] ceased copying, thus leaving his modern audience in suspension since the text was first made available." And Thompson (n. 11) 263: "True to form, the papyrus breaks off just as the beautiful Hathursepses makes her entrance ..."

²⁶ See Thompson (n. 11) 263; Lewis (n. 15) 74-87; and Legras (n. 13) 259-260 for more bibliography.

A number of Ptolemaic documents have been discussed in this section, which raise questions about a dream's relationship to its language. First, a third-century Greek letter claims that a dream must be written in Egyptian so that the recipient of the letter may clearly understand. Then, a second-century man takes pains to transliterate Egyptian words into the only script he knows – the Greek alphabet – only for the purpose of recording dreams. In yet another a dream context, a Greek transliteration is provided for a certain Egyptian word (indeed, this papyrus boat, or ῥωψ, is the first object of Nectanebo's dream). And finally, the only personal documents of the Serapeum archive written in Demotic also have to do with dreams.²⁷ These documents, I have argued, can be seen as different examples of the same phenomenon: namely, an urge to convey dreams in a certain language. Why this phenomenon may be occurring will be the subject of the next section.

Linguistic Dream Interpretation

A simple answer to why these men are writing their dreams in Egyptian is that their dreams were in Egyptian. This is sensible enough, but it does not fully resolve the problem: if, for example, the third-century Ptolemaios' dream were "in" Egyptian, what prevented him from simply translating that dream into the language of his letter, namely Greek? So too, if one imagines that the second-century Apollonios' dreams were "in" Egyptian, it still does not explain why he does not simply translate his dreams into Greek, the language he is so familiar with. It does not explain the situation, that is, unless there is some aspect to these dreams that is untranslatable. After all, certain forms of narrative are easier to translate than others, and maybe dreams – like jokes – somehow lose their "point" in translation. In what follows, I will examine what this untranslatable aspect of dreams might be.

One method of ancient dream interpretation focuses not on interpreting the symbolic objects of dreams (e.g., in English, if you dream of the moors, those moors stand for your homeland), but rather on the words of dreams (e.g. if you dream of the "moors" it means you want something "more"). This is dream interpretation through punning, as it were, and the second-century CE dream-interpreter Artemidorus provides some initial examples:²⁸

²⁷ Even if the Demotic wisdom literature were for the brothers' use, the documents are not personal records.

²⁸ For a brief introduction to Artemidorus' rather large volume, see R.M. Geer, "On the Theories of Dream Interpretation in Artemidorus," *CJ* 22.8 (1927) 663-670, which begins: "The work of Artemidorus Daldianus on the interpretation of dreams enjoys a well-deserved neglect." Artemidorus has become more popular in recent years: see,

[In dreams,] wax crowns (στέφανοι κήρινοι) are bad for everyone, especially the sick, since the poets call death κῆρα. (1.77.48)

Also a ram (κρίός) should be taken for a despot, a ruler, a king: for the ancients say κρείειν for ‘to rule.’ (2.12.10)

Artemis is good for those that are afraid: for through ἀπρεμές, which means ‘healthy,’ she protects them, rendering them unafraid. (2.35.14)

There are other such linguistic interpretations in Artemidorus, such as Alexander’s dream of a satyr during his siege of Tyre: the dream interpreter translates it as σὰ Τυρός, “Tyre is yours” (4.24.23). It is important to notice that such puns or homonyms, as the examples show, cannot be translated. Each language’s matrix of homophones is unique and intractable outside its own system. The question then is, if such homonyms cannot be translated, how can a dream itself be translated if it is to be interpreted linguistically? One finds something similar in Philo’s interpretation (first century CE) of one of Jacob’s dreams, an interpretation which relies on a Greek matrix of words:

[God says to Jacob in the dream], ‘thou anointedst unto Me a pillar’ (Gen. 31.13). But imagine here not that we have a stone anointed (ἀλείφεσθαι) with oil; but that the doctrine of God as the only Being that stands is exercised and practiced in a soul with the trainer’s (ἀλειπτικῆς) science ... (*On Dreams* 52)

This is not exactly a homonym, but Philo’s interpretation is very much rooted in Greek semantics. Such a linguistic interpretation of Jacob’s dream would presumably malfunction if it were translated into Hebrew or Aramaic.

These are all Greek examples, but the evidence for this linguistic type of dream interpretation is far more abundant in Egyptian sources. Indeed, this method, while rather marginal among Artemidorus’ numerous oneirocritic methods, is central to Egyptian (and Near Eastern) dream interpretation.²⁹ In Egyptian dream books, linguistic dream interpretation occurs often, from a thirteenth-century BCE Hieratic papyrus to the Demotic books of the sec-

e.g., C. Walde, “Dream Interpretation in a Prosperous Age? Artemidorus, the Greek Interpreter of Dreams,” in D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa (eds.) *Dream Cultures* (Oxford 1999) 121-142.

²⁹ See S.B. Noegel, “On Puns and Divination: Egyptian Dream Exegesis from a Comparative Perspective,” in K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams & Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea 2006) 95-119; K. Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (London 2003) 71, with further bibliography.

ond century CE. Here are some examples drawn from the Hieratic papyrus P.Chester Beatty III:³⁰

[If a man sees] his teeth falling out below him (*hry=f*): Bad. [It means] one of his dependents (*hry.w=f*) will die (r.8.12).

[If a man sees himself in a dream] being given a harp (*bn.t*): Bad. (It means) something through which he fares ill (*bjn*). (r.8.4)

[If a man sees in a dream] ... white bread (*hd*) is given to him: Good. (It means) something at which his face will light up (*hd*). (r.3.4)

Here is the same sort of homophonic punning as the Greek sources, that is, puns based on phonetic sound.³¹ But it should also be noted that because of the nature of the Egyptian script, these punning word games could also be played with the visual signs as well as the sounds, providing yet a further aspect of the untranslatable.³² This aspect of the visual would be lost in Greek, which requires an alphabetic script.

Thus, in both Greek and Egyptian there is a strand of dream interpretation that involves not the dreams-qua-images but very much the dreams-qua-words. Although linguistic interpretation is only one of many methods of dream interpretation (and in Artemidorus, for example, it is comparatively marginal), this oneirocritic strand does point to an aspect of dream interpretation that is untranslatable. If we return to the Ptolemaic papyri considered earlier, this linguistic aspect of dream interpretation may help explain certain choices about the languages used. For example, regarding the third-century Ptolemaios who reports his dream in Egyptian, unlike his account of the day's events at the beginning of the letter, it seems that something in the nature of the dream would be lost if translated into Greek, as if the hermeneutic opportunities that dreams create (e.g., linguistic word-play) separate the dream world

³⁰ Translation from Noegel (n. 29) 95. For *P.Chester Beatty III*, see the *editio princeps* in A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Series 3: Chester Beatty Gift* (London 1935).

³¹ See S.B. Noegel and K. Szpakowska, "'Word Play' in the Ramesside Dream Manual," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2007) 193-212, and Noegel (n. 29) 95, n. 5, for bibliography of this punning phenomenon. For a pun in Ptolemaios' third-century BCE dream description, see the play on *Ta-ḥnḥ* and *ḥnḥ* noticed by Renberg and Naether (n. 4) 56.

³² For visual puns in the Ramesside dream manual, see Noegel and Szpakowska (n. 31) 204-206. Although the Demotic script is considerably more simplified and less "visual" than its hieratic ancestor, there are still visual elements (e.g. determinatives) that would make visual punning possible.

from the real world.³³ This linguistic aspect of dream interpretation may also help explain the behavior of the second-century Apollonios and his Demotic dream-records, as well as that of his older brother Ptolemaios who attempts to capture Egyptian words in the only alphabet he knows: the language of the dream is a significant part of the dream's message.

This is not the first time someone has noticed the linguistic strand in Egyptian dream interpretation, but less discussed are the potential effects of this phenomenon on Greco-Egyptian bilingualism.³⁴ To take an example: J.D. Ray, in discussing P.Bologna 3173 (one of Apollonios' Demotic dreams in which he is walking "with a woman Tawē, *iw.s rwny* 'who is a virgin'"), writes the following: "This [that she is a virgin] sounds irrelevant ... Yet it may ... be something that a dream-interpreter would need to know; 'dreams about virgins' could well have been an entry in his dream book."³⁵ Here Ray imagines that this "irrelevant" piece of information may be relevant for dream interpreters who provide their interpretation by scrolling through dream manuals, looking for the word *rwny* and finding the particular significance of the word.

The question I would like to pose here is whether one ought to imagine Apollonios dealing with Egyptian or Greek dream interpretation manuals. That is, is the operative word for Apollonios here *rwny* or *πάρθενος*? The question is obviously speculative, but it is worthwhile speculation since it makes a major difference in how these dreams were analyzed, considering the linguistic nature of dream interpretation: since *rwny* and *πάρθενος* have different homoiophonic matrices, surely one ought to consider which language is more suitable. Regarding other dreams, for example the dream of Nectanebo, presumably it would make a real difference whether the operative word for interpretation were *ῥωψ* or the seemingly clunky *πλοῖον παύρινον*.³⁶ Since

³³ There is an important difference between Egyptian and Near Eastern divination according to Noegel (n. 29), the latter employing punning for all forms of divination, the former confining this method to oneiromancy.

³⁴ Noegel (n. 29) 95: "Virtually every scholar who has examined the Egyptian dream manuals found in the Chester Beatty papyrus and the Carlsberg papyri, has remarked on the ubiquitous use of punning or paronomasia found in them." See, e.g., E. Bresciani, *La porta dei sogni. Interpreti e sognatori nell'Egitto antico* (Turin 2005) 55, and A. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV)* (Copenhagen 1942) 59ff.

³⁵ Ray (n. 6) 90.

³⁶ It is notable that the Greek word for this boat, *βαρίς* (see Aeschylus, *Supp.* 874; Hdt. 2.41) is not used here. See L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (2nd ed.; Princeton 1986) 11-22, and the useful discussion by E.A. Evans at http://mcclungmuseum.utk.edu/research/reoccpap/reoccp_r_pyr.htm. Although one might consider *ῥωψ* simply an imported technical term (cf. the imported Dutch boat-term "sloop"), the text seems to endow it with extra significance (e.g., its own relative clause).

bilinguals have a choice to interpret their dream either in Greek or Egyptian, a question arises over which language they should choose for such analysis. Although I have suggested in this section that the answer might be simply the language of the dream itself (that is, the language the bilingual's dream was "in"), it is now time to consider some problems with this assumption.

Dream Books and Dream Languages

In the first section of this paper, I gathered and compared Ptolemaic papyri dealing with dreams in a linguistically self-conscious way: the third-century letter which claims that a dream must be described in Egyptian in order that it be "clearly understood"; the Demotic dream records of an individual who otherwise exclusively writes in Greek; and the two dream documents which transliterate one or more Egyptian words. My assumption in the preceding section has been that this self-consciousness over language may be due to the fact that these dreams were "dreamt in Egyptian." If these men were dreaming in a certain language, it only makes sense that they would wish to record their dreams in that language. Moreover, considering the nature of ancient linguistic dream interpretation, it is clear why one might avoid translating into Greek a dream that was "dreamt in Egyptian," since a very different meaning may be arrived at if one explores the wrong sound matrices. But although the idea that bilingual dreamers necessarily dream in a certain language is a common assumption, it is inherently problematic.³⁷ It needs to be asked: to what extent, really, can it be imagined that bilingual dreamers are actually conscious of the language(s) in which they have been dreaming? Surely, sometimes a dreamer may be aware of this fact, but, most of the time, considering the visual, experiential nature of dreams, the question "which language have I been dreaming in?" is rarely pressing upon waking, let alone even answerable.³⁸ Indeed, some

³⁷ See, e.g., Legras (quoted at n. 13) 261, who, regarding Nekthembes' "bilingual" dream, voices the question: "which parts of his dream were in Greek and which in Egyptian?" Cf. Thompson (n. 11) 247: "if the demotic record betrays the language of his dreams, he dreamed in Egyptian too." See also Renberg and Naether, who write (n. 4) 63, n. 49, that Apollonios "seems to have been fluent enough to dream in Egyptian." Regarding Ptolemaios, the writer of the bilingual third-century BCE letter discussed above, Renberg and Naether write, "indeed, the very fact that he dreamed in Egyptian is compelling evidence of his own ethnicity" (p. 63).

³⁸ For a modern study on bilingual dreaming, see F. Grosjean, *Bilingual: Life and Reality* (Cambridge, MA 2010) 127-128, especially p. 128 (my italics): "In the small survey I conducted, almost as many bilinguals and trilinguals (64 percent) said that they dreamed in one or the other language, depending on the dream (*when they dreamed with language, of course*)." Cf. also J. Gilliland and M. Stone, "Color and Communica-

Egyptian dream books seem to be aware of the experiential (and not verbal) nature of dreams: in the thirteenth-century Chester Beatty papyrus, for example, the great majority of dream categories seem to be those of experience (for example, “the types of coitus about which one dreams,” 8.b.2.14; “the types of beer a man dreams about,” 14.a.1), while only one section is devoted to “the words which a man dreams that someone says to him” (14.c.2.2). This does not mean that these experiential dreams cannot be interpreted linguistically (they certainly can), but simply that the dreams themselves may not contain the words or verbal communication that would allow one to be conscious of a dream’s particular language.

On the other hand, it should be noted that spoken words are something of an obsession in the Ptolemaic dreams considered in this paper (perhaps supporting Harris’ notion of the ancient penchant for the “epiphany” dream). The dream reported in the third-century BCE letter contains a large amount of actual speech (e.g., the words of the priest), and most of the dreams recorded in the Serapeum archive also have quoted words or phrases.³⁹ For example, in the last dream of *UPZ* 80, the words themselves seem to be emphasized, as though they were the most memorable or significant part of the dream: “In the dream about Thauēs – Harpaēsis, and the words ‘Ptolemaios to a crisp.’”⁴⁰ But even here, one must be wary: quotation of a dream’s words need not be proof of the dreamer’s consciousness of his dream’s language. In Nectanebo’s romance, for example, the long quotation spoken within the dream betrays no anxiety over the language, although the earlier dream image of the papyrus boat does. These dream quotations may, after all, simply be recording the “gist” of what was said, without necessarily betraying a consciousness over the actual language.

For that reason, I would like to consider briefly one last possibility for what is occurring in these Ptolemaic papyri – one that escapes this rather slippery question of the “actual” language of the dream. As Harris noticed recently, in all of R.A. Pack’s massive collection of literary papyri, there is no trace of

tion in the Dreams of Hearing and Deaf Persons,” *Dreaming* 17 (2007) 48-56; F. Baudry, “Remarks on Spoken Words in the Dream,” *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 43 (1974) 581-605, with a Freudian perspective.

³⁹ Cf. the first, fourth, and fifth dreams of *UPZ* 77; both dreams of *UPZ* 78; the first, third, and fourth dreams of both recorded days in *UPZ* 79; *UPZ* 80; the first and second dreams the Bologna papyrus. Roughly five dreams in this group do not have quoted speech.

⁴⁰ Translation from Lewis (n. 15) 51. The Greek is τὰ δὲ περ[ε]ῖ Ταγῆτος / Ἀρπαήσι· Π[τ]ολεμαῖον / ἀνθρακιῶν, with Wilcken’s note (n. 14) 369: “Ptolemaios notiert nachträglich, was ihm aus diesem Traum besonders wichtig war, nämlich die Worte: Πτολεμαῖον ἀνθρακιῶν.”

any Greek dream-book (that is, a book which helps in interpreting dreams).⁴¹ Papyrological finds of other divination manuals, even in genres as marginal as palm-reading, are relatively plentiful – but dream-books, such as that of the second-century CE Artemidorus, are, for the most part, absent. This would suggest that dream interpretation was not very popular in Egypt, at least not in Greek. However, there is a complication: in the period in which there are virtually no papyrological attestations of Greek dream books, it appears that Demotic dream books flourished.⁴² There are ten published Demotic books on dreams (P.Berlin 15683,⁴³ P.Jena 1209,⁴⁴ P.Tebt. 16, P.Tebt. 17,⁴⁵ P.Carlsberg 13,⁴⁶ P.Carlsberg 14 Verso,⁴⁷ P.Cairo 50138 + 50139 + 50141,⁴⁸ P.Cairo 50140,⁴⁹ P.Dem.Berl.8769,⁵⁰ and P.Heid.dem. 785⁵¹) with two more on the way,⁵² as well as some late and early Hieratic papyri⁵³ – all suggesting a steady demand not only for dream interpretation in Egypt, but for dream books as well. When one sets this numerical difference against the proportion of literary papyrus

⁴¹ Harris (n. 1) 134. But see *P.Oxy.* 31.2607 of the third century CE, the only Greek dream book papyrus find, as far as I know. I thank Gil Renberg for alerting me to it.

⁴² Harris (n. 1) *ibid.*: “The Roman-period texts written in hieratic or demotic ... somewhat modify this picture.”

⁴³ Published by K.-T. Zauzich “Aus zwei demotischen Traumbüchern,” *AFP* 27 (1980) 91-98, dated to the first century CE.

⁴⁴ Published by Zauzich (n. 43) and dated to first century BCE, but redated to the fourth/third century BCE by J.F. Quack “A Black Cat from the Right, and a Scarab on your Head: New Sources for Ancient Egyptian Divination,” in K. Szpakowska (ed.) *Through a Glass Darkly* (Swansea 2006) 175-187 at 185, n. 6.

⁴⁵ Published by J. Tait, *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek* (London 1977) 56-61, dated to the second century CE.

⁴⁶ Published by Volten (n. 34), dated to the second century CE.

⁴⁷ Published by Volten (n. 34), dated to the second century CE.

⁴⁸ Published by W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* 3 (Berlin 1932), dated to the second century CE.

⁴⁹ Published by Spiegelberg (n. 48).

⁵⁰ Published by W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig/Berlin 1902).

⁵¹ Published by Volten (n. 34), although he claims (at p. 5) that this may be an omen text.

⁵² See Quack (n. 44) 181-182, with a description of his and K. Ryholt’s forthcoming dream-book papyri edition.

⁵³ P.Chester Beatty III, a thirteenth-century hieratic papyrus published in Gardiner (n. 30); P.Berlin 29009 (sixth/fifth century BCE) and P.Berlin 23058 (fifth/fourth century BCE), published in J.F. Quack, “Aus zwei spätzeitlichen Traumbüchern,” in H. Knuf et al. (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven 2010) 99-110.

finds in Egypt more generally (roughly, one Demotic for every ten Greek)⁵⁴ the disparity is even more striking.⁵⁵

Does this large preponderance of Demotic dream books (and virtual absence of Greek ones) bear any relationship to the dream papyri considered here, in which there are efforts to record dreams in Egyptian (and not in Greek)? If there is a relationship, it would seem that dream interpretation or dream discourse in general used Egyptian as the preferred language, as if the pastime of understanding dream messages remained largely under the auspices of Egyptian expertise. Whether this reflects a certain prestige of the Egyptian language in religious circles or a certain authority or awe propagated by the Egyptian priesthood,⁵⁶ maybe neither the third-century Ptolemaios, nor the second-century Nekthembes, nor the second-century Apollonios could have answered the question, “which language was your dream in?” – but, nevertheless, the choice of what language to “translate” that dream into was obvious enough: Egyptian. Such speculation should not be pushed too far, since one finds the third-century priest Hor “translating” his dream into Greek for the sake of his Greek-speaking monarchs and the Cretan dream interpreter advertising his wares in Greek iambs.⁵⁷ But, considering the Ptolemaic papyri

⁵⁴ T. Renner, “Papyrology and Ancient Literature,” in R. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 282–302 at 283: “The most recent count of demotic literary papyri, including some items not yet published, totals 539.” For the Greek, however, there are (at p. 285) “approximately six thousand items published” and “texts containing Greek literature or subliterate texts make up some 87 percent of published literary papyri from Egypt up to the Arab conquest.”

⁵⁵ The extent to which other genres are comparably disparate or influential on one another depends upon the defined generic boundaries (e.g. between medicine, magic, etc.). For medical papyri, see the catalogue in H. Froschauer and C. Römer (eds.), *Zwischen Magie und Wissenschaft. Ärzte und Heilkunst in den Papyri aus Ägypten* (Vienna 2007) 83–127, with an excellent overview by V. Nutton, “Greco-Roman Medicine and the Greek Papyri,” pp. 5–12; also, J. Quack, “Methoden und Möglichkeiten der Erforschung der Medizin im Alten Ägypten,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 38.1 (2003) 3–15; not to be overlooked is the second-century BCE mother congratulating her son that he is learning Demotic (Αἰγύπτια γράμματα) in order to study medicine under an Egyptian doctor (*Chrest. Wilck.* 136). For omen texts, see R. Jasnow, “A Demotic Omen Text? (PBM 10238),” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Leiden 1997) 207–218, and S. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Oxford 2008) 144–182.

⁵⁶ See Dieleman (n. 3) 1–23, especially his discussion of the quotations of the *Corpus Hermeticum* 16.1–2, Origen, *Against Celsus* 1.25, and Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries of Egypt* 7.4.256.

⁵⁷ For the letter by Hor about his oracle/dream, see J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London 1976) 2–3. For the Cretan dream interpreter, see Thompson (n. 11) 225. Note

discussed above as well as the disparity in dream book attestations, it appears that in Egypt (despite the well-developed genre of Greek oneirocriticism)⁵⁸ the Egyptian language was the superior language for decoding the “messages” from above. In other words, when these Ptolemaic dreamers write in Egyptian in order that the dream be “understood,” it may point not to the language of the dream but rather the preferred language for discerning its message.

that the use of Greek for Hor (and even the Cretan) is more that of advertisement/publication, not interpretation. Cf. the second-century CE *P.Oxy.* 11.1381 where a man translates an Egyptian religious text (regarding Imhotep/Asclepius) into Greek (τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀρξάμενος Ἑλληνίδι γλώσσει, col. 3) to make it “public” (διότι ἔξω ἐλεῖν ἔμελλον αὐτήν) but nevertheless describes his coming to a private understanding with the incubation god through the Egyptian priest (διὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀγνείαις αὐτῷ προσπολοῦντος ἱερέως, col. 7).

⁵⁸ See D. Del Corno, *Graecorum de re onirocritica scriptorum reliquae* (Milan 1969), but cf. Harris (n. 1) 134, for the dubious nature of the authors only attested by Artemidorus.

Two Texts of the *dioiketes* Apollonius

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Abstract

Apollonius' dedication *I.Portes* 47 gives first place to Apollo Hylates; this cult is known only on Cyprus, which suggests that Apollonius was Cypriot. *P.Hal.* 1.260-265 grants a tax exemption to victors in certain festivals; the third festival listed is likely to be that at Hieria Nesos, and all three were royal, not civic festivals of Alexandria.

Apollonius the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II has been known for more than a century, in growing detail with the progressive publication of the Zenon archive discovered in 1915. Two documents of his, one a dedication and the other a letter, had been published even earlier, preserved independently of the archive; though well known, each repays further study.

The Dedication I.Portes 47

From the beginning, scholars have wanted to know where Apollonius came from; no text tells us explicitly, in contrast to his subordinate Zenon of Caunus.¹ But after Edgar's discussion in 1931² there was substantial agreement that Apollonius too came from Caria. The grounds have been the number of Carians in Apollonius' service,³ and two religious gestures: Apollonius made a dedication to Zeus Labraundeus and one to Apollo Hylates, both Carian gods. Thus he and Zenon were both Carians, in effect members of a Carian clique.

The first gesture is in a list of assignments of land by Apollonius (*P.Mich. Zen.* 31), most to individuals (including one native divine, an ibis-keeper); but one plot goes to Sarapis-Asclepius, another to Zeus Labraundeus. Zeus of

¹ M.I. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Madison 1922) 24.

² *P.Mich.Zen.*, p. 15; cf. p. 96.

³ Most notably Zenon himself and his predecessor as administrator of Apollonius' estate in Philadelphia, Panakestor of Calynda (*Guide to the Zenon Archive* 1:386). See C. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos* (Paris 1985) 116-120, and especially W. Clarysse in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia* (Florence 2009) 31-43.

Labraunda was indeed Carian. But was Apollonius seeking to please himself or his dependents? One of Apollonius' chief concerns was Memphis, where he often resided and where he held properties,⁴ and the Carian community in Memphis was substantial, mentioned already by Herodotus; and Carians were in the circle of Zenon at Philadelphia.⁵ In allocating land for Carian Zeus, Apollonius may well be accommodating a request from his people, rather than making a choice of his own. That is, the question why honor Carian Zeus may be a subset of the question why so many Carians in Apollonius' employ. This last might be answered in several ways, including the familiar tendency of employees to tell their friends about opportunities – i.e., networking, but at a level below Apollonius.

The other gesture is attested by an inscription on stone. It is a small dedicatory plaque (h. 25.5, w. 33, th. 2-3 cm.), the writing handsome and elegant:⁶

Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ
 Ἀρτέμιδι Φωσφόρῳ
 Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐνοδίῃ
 Λητοίᾳ Εὐτέκνῳι
 Ἡρακλεῖ Καλλινίκῳι
 Ἀπολλώνιος
 διοικητής.

Petrie thought the piece must come from Coptos, but no argument for this was offered; wherever its origin, a thin plaque ten inches long may well have wandered. Nor is it evident what dedicated object it once marked.

In contrast to the land grants in *P.Mich.Zen.* 31, no particular constituency is obvious for this roster of gods. This small plaque rather should represent a private gesture of Apollonius; perhaps it labeled a domestic shrine with statuettes of these gods. The list of gods would represent a personal choice, his own initiative in a private monument rather than an accommodation of other people.⁷

⁴ See W. Clarysse in *Studia Hellenistica* 24 (Leuven 1980) 100-103.

⁵ Hdt. 2.154.3, *PSI* 4.488.12, 5.531 (τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν Καρῶν); O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqara and Buhen* (London 1978); D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988) 83-84, 93-95; G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden* (Mainz 2003) 155-179.

⁶ A. Bernard, *I.Portes* 47, with photograph (*OGIS* 1.53; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 2 [Rome 1969] 139-140, with photograph). The dimensions were first made known by L. Criscuolo in *Studia Hellenistica* 34 (Leuven 1998) 61-72, at 67.

⁷ Cf. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1:195: the dedication "may represent the particular interests of Apollonius." Compare the dedication to Apollo

The list has puzzled its modern readers.⁸ It honors Apollo, his sister and mother, and Heracles. The list exhibits nothing of the cults of Coptos, about which we know something; they are largely native (chiefly Min, and a number of others, but no god from Apollonius' list).⁹ Indeed, it shows nothing peculiar to Egypt.

Apollo Hylates, though the great god of Cypriot Curium, has been the other proof offered for Apollonius' Carian origin, on the basis of Pausanias' mention of Apollo of Hylai at Magnesia on the Maeander. Doubt should have obtruded: Magnesians, proud of their descent from Thessalian Magnesia, were not Carian.¹⁰ More important, the Ὑλαί at Magnesia where Pausanias knew a temple of Apollo¹¹ was emended out of existence in 1895, when Wilamowitz saw that this is in fact Aulai as in Apollo Aulites shown on Magnesian coins, and editors of Pausanias since then have printed Αὔλαί.¹² Only those seeking to trace Apollonius to Caria or commenting on the dedicatory plaque have relied on the discredited text: first Edgar in 1931, later e.g. Préaux,¹³ Fraser,¹⁴ A. Bernand (ad loc.), Turner.¹⁵

In a learned and judicious reexamination of the matter, Criscuolo has suggested that Apollonius came from Aspendus in Pamphylia:¹⁶ she would identify him with the Aspendian Apollonius now on record as ancestor of prominent royal officials – father of Aetos active in the 250s and 240s and grandfather of

Didymeus by a Milesian among the Scythians: Plin. *HN* 5.49, with L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1987) 455-460.

⁸ Criscuolo (n.6) 66-67, n.17, surveys their puzzlement.

⁹ See C. Traunecker, *Coptos: hommes et dieux* (Leuven 1992) 333-363; cf. *Autour de Coptos*, *Topoi Suppl.* 3 (Lyons 2002). Guarducci (n. 6) was hasty in writing that Apollonius' dedication was to "the principal divinities of Coptos" (140).

¹⁰ Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schr.* 5.1:78-99; Hdt. 3.90.1 (listed separately from Ionians and Carians).

¹¹ 10.32.6: according to the one ancestral manuscript, Ὑλαί καλούμενον χωρίον. That Apollo's epithet was therefore Hylates is an old deduction (cf. Wernicke, *RE* 2, 1895, 71), and invoked by Dittenberger in 1903 concerning our inscription (*OGIS* 1.53, n. 1).

¹² *Kleine Schr.* 5.1:359, n. 3; Robert (n. 7) 35-46. Clarysse (n. 4) 106 and Criscuolo (n. 6) quite properly ignored the Pausanias passage in discussing Apollonius' origins.

¹³ C. Préaux, *Chr.d'Ég.* 9 (1934) 352 ("ces Grecs d'Asie"); *Les grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels 1947) 10 ("probably"); *Le monde hellénistique* (Paris 1978) 1:381 ("ce Carien").

¹⁴ Fraser (n. 7) 1:195: "there is no suggestion ... that these aspects of Apollo or of Artemis were in vogue in his Carian homeland."

¹⁵ But skeptically as to Carian Apollonius: *CAH*² 7.1 (1984) 142.

¹⁶ Criscuolo (n. 6) 66-72; rejected by Clarysse (n. 3) 33.

Thrasedas in the later third century.¹⁷ She guesses that Apollonius' attentiveness to Apollo Hylates will be because Aspendus and Curium were both founded by Argos so that Aspendus like Curium may have had the cult, and because the Ptolemies ruled Cyprus.¹⁸ This however is most fragile, as she admits. The name Apollonius was panhellenic, even if rare at the Ptolemies' court (Criscuolo 63, n. 6, noting that her thesis implies that the *dioiketes* and his family were not dismissed upon the accession of Ptolemy III as has been thought). Chaniotis cautiously follows Criscuolo's attribution to Aspendus, but sees that Apollo Hylates still needs an explanation; he speculates that Apollonius might have been a soldier in Cyprus and became "acquainted with the cult" there (that is, he rejects one of the basic elements of her case).¹⁹

I propose a simpler explanation: Apollonius came from Cyprus. With Pausanias' Magnesians eliminated, there is only one place where the cult of Apollo Hylates is attested: Cyprus, and specifically the great temple that has been located and excavated a couple of miles west of Curium on the south coast.²⁰ "Apollo the Bayer" was the patron god of Curium;²¹ we also find dedications to him elsewhere in Cyprus, and in Roman times Cypriots swore their oath of allegiance to the emperor in the name of Apollo Hylates among others.²² He was a god uniquely of Cyprus, and there was nothing traditional or panhellenic about his epithet. Apollonius' dedication is the only documentary

¹⁷ On this family see C.P. Jones and Chr. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317-346 (*SEG* 39.1426.19); J. Sosin, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 141-146. Criscuolo cites also a dedication from the Curium temple (*I.Kourion* 57) by a simple "Apollonius" (early III BC; but a cheap monument). Other Apollonii from Aspendus: *P.Mich.Zen.* 66 (the father of two dependents of Zenon); *IG* 11.4.684 (ca. 230 BC); L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1964) 373-391 (III and II BC); C. Brixhe and R. Tekoglu, *Kadmos* 39 (2000) 6-7, no. 260 (ca. 200 BC); *Pros.Ptol.* 2.3821 (II BC); *IG* 7.1773.23 (Imperial). An Aspendian is on record as an agent of Apollonius: *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59003 (*Pros.Ptol.* 1.70).

¹⁸ For Aspendus and Argos see R. Stroud, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 191-216 (*SEG* 34.282), at 200-201. On the attested cults of Aspendus see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 177-188 (the twin Aphrodites); S. Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 104-105; H. Brandt, *IstMitt* 38 (1988) 237-250.

¹⁹ A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (Malden 2005) 153; he adds that Heracles Kallinikos was favored by soldiers. A Cypriot instance of this is *I.Salamis* 1 = *Salamine* 13.45.

²⁰ R. Scranton, *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (TAPhS 57.5; Philadelphia 1967); D. Soren, *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates* (Tucson 1987); S. Sinos, *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Athens 1990).

²¹ Not Ὑλαῖος "of the woods" but Ὑλάτης from ὕλαω: K. Rigsby, *CP* 91 (1996) 257-260.

²² *SEG* 18.578, τὸν ἡμέτερον Ὑλάτη[ν Ἀπόλλ]ω (under Tiberius).

mention of this god outside of Cyprus. The first author who knows the epithet is Lycophron, Apollonius' contemporary in Alexandria.²³

After Apollo, the plaque honors his kin, who are then capped by Heracles. Of these gods, each might be found among the cults of any city, but together they do not point to one place in particular. In contrast to Apollo Hylates, they are panhellenic, even literary. Leto is εὔτεκνος because of her two children just named. Heracles Kallinikos²⁴ is as frequent in literature as in civic cult. In a popular acclamation, without locale and therefore without cult, he was hailed in a famous song attributed to Archilochus, later sung for victors in the Olympia.²⁵ But he is most often met in a domestic setting, in the apotropaic couplet ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς / ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν.²⁶

The inexplicable item is the double Artemis.²⁷ The coins of Roman Aspendus show twin goddesses as patrons of the city. Robert took them to be the Aphrodites known from an Aspendian inscription of Imperial date dedicated to the Ἀφροδείταις Καστνιήτισιν.²⁸ Kastnion was a hill on Aspendian territory, perhaps its acropolis.²⁹ Criscuolo suggested that the goddesses on the coins are instead Apollonius' two Artemises. The Aspendian inscription naming Aphrodites speaks against this, and also the date. For the twin goddesses of Aspendus are attested only in Imperial times, while Callimachus and Lycophron knew as patron of Aspendus a singular Aphrodite, ἡ Καστνιήτις.³⁰ That pre-Roman singularity is supported by Aspendian dialectic inscriptions attesting a Queen of the Hill, Ἀνασσα Ἀκρου.³¹ She, I suggest, is the goddess who by the begin-

²³ The section on Cyprus (*Alex.* 447-591) introduces the island as Ὑλάτου γῆν (448). Next is the geographer Dionysius in the *Bassarika*, who names three Cypriot cities where Apollo Hylates was honored: οἱ τ' ἔχον Ὑλάταο θεοῦ ἔδος Ἀπόλλωνος, Τέμβρον Ἐρύσθειάν τε καὶ εἰναλίην Ἀμαμασσόν (fr. 4 Livrea). Subsequent authors who mention Hylates are derivative from these two.

²⁴ The mentions in Egypt are listed by L. and W. Swinnen, *AncSoc* 2 (1971) 46-51, at 50, n. 15, with *I.Portes*, p. 165, n. 8.

²⁵ Archilochus fr. 324 West with testimonia. In Egypt, the song was commented on by Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241 F 44) and cited by Callimachus (fr. 384.39 Pf.).

²⁶ Th. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae* (Leipzig 1891) no. 213; R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme* 1 (Stuttgart 1998) No. 01/15/01; discussion, C. Faraone, *GRBS* 49 (2009) 228-234.

²⁷ A coin of Tabae in Caria offers a parallel of Imperial date, two Artemises facing each other: J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (Paris 1953) 143-144. For such doublings see H.S. Versnel, *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden 2011) 80-81.

²⁸ Robert (n. 17).

²⁹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Κάστινιον, ὄρος ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ τῆς Παμφυλίας.

³⁰ Callim. fr.200a Pf.; Lycoph. *Alex.* 403, 1234.

³¹ Brixhe and Tekoglu (n. 17) 10-20, no. 274 (II BC), 25-53, no. 276.33 (ca. 300 BC).

ning of the Hellenistic age had come to have also an Olympian name and topographic epithet, Aphrodite Kastnietis. The doubling is a later development in this cult, whatever its cause, and Apollonius' two Artemises remain to be explained. The explanation may lie in some personal and domestic notion of Apollonius rather than in an allusion to a particular civic cult.³²

The conclusion is that Apollonius was a Cypriot, whether by descent or even born there under Ptolemaic rule (after 312 BC). He gave first honor to the god of his fathers. We can suspect that Lycophron owed his knowledge of Apollo's Cypriot epithet to Apollonius himself. Apollonius would not be the only Ptolemaic courtier from Cyprus. Two Paphians at the court of Philadelphus were the scholar Ister (*Pros.Ptol.* 6.14384) and the comic writer Sopater (16714); later is another Apollonius (16580), the doctor from Citium who dedicated a medical tract to one of the Ptolemies (CMG 11.1.1).

The letter P.Hal. 1.260-265

The famous gathering of legal usages pertaining in Alexandria includes at its end a letter of Apollonius ordering exemption from the head-tax *halike*³³ for several categories of persons:³⁴

- 260 Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωίλῳ χαίρειν· ἀφείκαμ[εν] τοῦ[ς] τε διδασκάλους]
 τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας [κ]αὶ τ[οὺς] ca. 11]
 τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς νενικηκό[τ]ας τ[ὸν] ca. 12]
 ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ Βασίλεια καὶ τὰ Πτολε[μ]α[ῖ]α, κ[α]θάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς]
 264 προστέταχεν, τοῦ ἀλὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦς τ[ε] καὶ [οἰκείους].
 ἔρρω[σο]. (ἔτους) []

³² Antipater of Thessalonica honors Artemis for a double gift (δοῖς ἔμπορεν εὐτυχίης): she is both Locheia and Phosphoros because she simultaneously brought a blind woman to birth and restored her sight (ἥ τε λοχείης μαῖα καὶ ἀργεννῶν φωσφόρος ἢ σελάων): *Anth.Gr.* 9.46; cf. 268 (ἀμφοτέρην Ἄρτεμιν εὐξαμένη, of hunting and birth-ing).

³³ On the tax see W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (Cambridge 2006) 2:36-89, with 52-53 on the letter.

³⁴ Cf. S. Eitrem, *SymbOsl* 17 (1937) 35, n. 1; C.E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (Amsterdam 1938) 10-11; T. Reekmans, *Chr.d'Ég.* 27 (1952) 406; Fraser (n. 7) 1:619, 2:380, 870; L. Nerwinski, *The Foundation Date of the Panhellenic Ptolemaea* (diss. Duke University 1981) 109-116; D.J. Thompson in *Studia Hellenistica* 36 (Leuven 2000) 373, n. 31.

261 τελοῦντας] Eitrem; νέμοντας] Fraser 262 Ἀλεξανδρεῖον] *P.Hal.*;
 πενθετηρικόν] Visser, Fraser; ἐν Ἐλευσίει? Nerwinski; ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι?]
 Thompson 264 *l.* τοῦ τέλους; [οἰκείου] Reekmans; [ἐκγόνους] *P.Hal.*

The editors of *P.Hal.* left line 261 unrestored, but they assumed that the reference is to the Technitai of Dionysus, and this has been mostly followed.³⁵ A minority view, however, represented by τελοῦντας, sees instead priests of Dionysiac *thiasoi* who dispensed mysteries.³⁶ But this topic, mysteries, does not fit with the tenor of the document. The other beneficiaries of this tax-immunity are the purveyors of public high culture – educators and competitors in the great festivals. The people of Dionysus whom we expect here should rather be his performers – anyone involved with presenting the choral and dramatic arts.³⁷ The Technitai of Dionysus were a respected organization in Ptolemaic Egypt,³⁸ and had a place in the “grand procession” of Ptolemy II,³⁹ who is praised for rewarding them (Theoc. 17.112-114) – whereas the purveyors of secret rites of Dionysus ended up falling under some official suspicion and regulation (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 29). The editors’ understanding should be retained. Fraser’s νέμοντας was unargued, “distributing” or “managing” the things of Dionysus; the verb is unusual, as it elsewhere applies to persons.⁴⁰ An unambiguous verb would be διδάσκοντας, “those who stage” the things belonging to Dionysus, or ἀγωνιζομένους (as in *IG* 12.7.226 ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ... δράματα), or

³⁵ E.g. Fraser; F. Uebel in *Atti Milano* (Milan 1966) 325 (“Schauspieler”); E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (London 1983) 54; F. Dunand in *L’association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* (Rome 1986) 85-103, at 86; B. Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique* 1 (Nancy 2001) 344-345, includes Apollonius’ letter (accepting νέμοντας: “les membres des corporations dionysiaques”).

³⁶ After Eitrem, H. Maehler in E. Van ’t Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Louvain 1983) 196 (“Dionysospriester”); R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period* (2nd ed.; Malden 2004) 210 (“[performers of] the rites of Dionysos”). S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten* (Wiesbaden 2003) 117-118, who accepts νέμοντας, holds that the phrase intends not just the *technitai* but everyone involved with the cult of Dionysus, including priests and initiates in private *thiasoi*.

³⁷ On Zenon’s enthusiasm in support of Greek agonistics see Rostovtzeff (n. 1) 173-174; W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d’affaires grec* (Louvain 1995) 58-63; more generally, S. Remijsen, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009) 246-271, with 257-258 on Zenon.

³⁸ Aneziri (n. 36) nos. E1-2.

³⁹ Ath. 198B (*FGrHist* 627 F 2.27; Rice [n. 35] 52-58).

⁴⁰ Individual performers at Aneziri (n. 36) nos. B3.35l, D13.17, 20, 37; τὸν σύνοδον at E1.3. Cf. Aneziri (n. 36) 113-115, 283; W. Slater in *L’argent dans les concours du monde grec* (Saint-Denis 2010) 263-265.

even ἐπιδεικνύντας (Dio Chrys. 27.6 ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες τραγωδίας, but of recitation). Whatever the verb, in this context of governmental favor “the things belonging to Dionysus” will not be private initiation rites but public literary culture, the business of choral performance.

The contests present a more difficult problem. The royal government, in imitation of the polis tradition of granting privileges to citizens who won panhellenic competitions, here offers a tax exemption to victors in games that were of greater than local attraction. In Egypt these were few. The Basileia was a royal festival marking the birthday of Ptolemy II,⁴¹ and prominent early: a dithyrambic poet honored in Athens in the mid-third century B.C. had won in the Βασίλεια ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι (IG 2².3779.19). The Ptolemaia is the best known of Ptolemaic festivals: at the request of Philadelphus’ embassies, Greek states recognized it as “crowned,” panhellenic, in 283; *theoroi* sent by the cities, marking its panhellenic status, attended the first quadrennial celebration in spring 282. More often this festival was called the “pentaeteris,”⁴² because other festivals also bore the name “Ptolemaia.”

Which then was the third festival listed? In line 262, neither Ἀλεξανδρεῖον] / ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι] nor πενθετηρικόν] is cogent:⁴³ the first do not sufficiently limit the field (and “Alexandrian contest” *tout cour* would likely mean either the panhellenic Ptolemaia, already mentioned, or some festival honoring Alexander); the second would indicate the only penteteric contest in Egypt, which again was the the Ptolemaia.

The festival at Eleusis was a reasonable alternative to accompany these two early Ptolemaic festivals; Satyrus describes the contest there as [κα]τ’ ἐγῆαυτὸν ... πανήγυρις ἔχουσα [ca. 7] κὸν καὶ μουσικὸν ἀγῶνα.⁴⁴ But nothing suggests that this annual civic festival was of more than local significance. This restoration, moreover, was predicated on the shared assumption that all the festivals named must be in Alexandria, as were the Ptolemaia and Basileia.⁴⁵ The topic of the letter, however, is not Alexandrian civic festivals but the privileges granted by the king to victors in certain festivals that were unusually important to him, and these might be anywhere in Egypt. The letter has been included in a compilation of laws pertinent to Alexandria because Alexandrian citizens would

⁴¹ L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten* (Meisenheim 1977); Nerwinski (n. 34) 48–103.

⁴² In the Zenon archive, *P.Ryl.* 4.562.10, *PSI* 4.409.a.11, *P.Mich.Zen.* 46.8; I follow Nerwinski (n. 34) 107–108 and *passim*, for the date of the festival.

⁴³ Disputed also by L. Criscuolo in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano* (Rome 1995) 44.

⁴⁴ *P.Oxy.* 27.2465.fr.3.ii.7–8.

⁴⁵ E.g. Uebel (n. 35) 325, “Sieger in den drei wichtigsten Agonen von Alexandria.”

loom large as competitors in Greek games and so would be affected in some numbers by this benefaction, which however applied to everyone in Egypt subject to the salt tax. Moreover, the restoration ἐν'Ελευσίνι] seems short.

I propose instead: τ[ὸν ἐν'Ιερᾷ Νήσῳ] ἀγῶνα. The royal festival at Hieranesos (location uncertain),⁴⁶ honoring the Savior Gods Ptolemy I and Berenice, was also called the Ptolemaia; but the toponym is found added in order to distinguish it from the panhellenic games held in Alexandria. So most fully one could write τὸν ἐν'Ιερᾷ Νήσῳ ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτολεμαίων (PSI 4.364 of 250 BC). But more exactly parallel, a letter of Ptolemy III in 242 B.C. reveals that he had lately invited the people of Cos, where his father was born, to send delegates to τὸν ἀγῶνα ὃν τ[ῆ]μι ἐν'Ιερᾷ[ι Νή]σῳ.⁴⁷ Thus, as in a panhellenic festival, foreign *theoroi*, in this case Ptolemaic allies, were invited to observe – the games were thus treated by the king and his guests as of more than local distinction.

If this restoration is correct, the unity of the policy emerges: these are the three competitions sponsored by the crown for which the king sought a wide participation. We can fairly ask: Why not the fourth festival which is attested early, the games at Alexandrian Eleusis? It will be because the Eleusinia – an annual sacrifice and competition – had no such *éclat* and, more important, was an affair of the city of Alexandria and not of the king. It is royal sponsorship that the three festivals have in common: they are all creations and responsibilities of the king,⁴⁸ not of the city. This category is explicit already in the Zenon archive: a young dependent of Zenon is eager to compete in τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὗς ὁ βασιλεὺς προτίθησιν.⁴⁹ The royal sponsorship that the three festivals share is consistent with the basic action of Apollonius' letter: immunity from a royal tax is being imposed from above – naturally, for the city government would have no say in such a matter. The salt tax was not the city's, and neither, I suggest, were the three contests – the king was promoting his own festivals.

⁴⁶ A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario* 3 (Milan 1978) 17 (who preferred the eastern Fayyum).

⁴⁷ K.J. Rigsby, *Asyilia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996) no. 8: the Roberts' brilliant τ[ῆ]μι ἐν'Ιερᾷ Νή]σῳ has been confirmed by the equally brilliant recognition of a new fragment by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof, *Chiron* 33 (2003) 242-245, now *IG* 12.4 212.

⁴⁸ For such see F. Perpillou-Thomas in *Studia Hellenistica* 31 (Leuven 1993) 151-158.

⁴⁹ *P.Lond.* 7.2017.27 (241/0 BC).

Departure without Saying Goodbye: A Lexicographical Study

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Abstract

Lexicographical study of an exceptional use of the adverb ἀλόγως in some papyrus letters of the Roman period. When a person has left without saying goodbye to his correspondent this is regularly regretted by the writer. There are many possible expressions for this situation, including “NN went away ἀ-λόγως” i.e. “without saying anything.” This meaning has been misunderstood by editors, who following the dictionaries translate “without reason, unreasonably.”

In our dictionaries the adjective ἄλογος and its adverb ἀλόγως are translated as “unreasoning, irrational, contrary to reason, without reason, absurd.”¹ From an etymological point of view ἀλόγως can of course also mean “without words,” and in expressions like ἄλογα ζῶια “animals,” i.e. living creatures without reason but also without speech, the two ideas are intertwined. Clear instances of the latter meaning are, however, exceptional. The lexica quote word plays in Plato’s *Laws* 696e (οὐ λόγου ἀλλὰ τινος μᾶλλον ἀλόγου σιγῆς ἄξιον ἂν εἴη) and in Sophocles, *OC* 131 (ἀδέρκτως, ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως τὸ τᾶς εὐφάμου στόμα φροντίδος ἰέντες), and a translation from Latin *dies nefastus* in Lucian, *Lex.* 9. In Isocrates, *Nicocles* 9, οὐδὲν τῶν φρονίμως πραττομένων εὐρήσομεν ἀλόγως γιγνόμενον is part of an encomium on the human *logos*, the art of rhetoric.² The usual meaning “without reason, unreasonably” is of course also well-attested in the papyri in all periods, e.g. in *P.Ent.* 79 (δέομαι μὴ περιδεῖν με οὕτως ἀλόγως ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίας ὕβρισμένον “Ελληνα ὄντα “being insulted without any reason”), *BGU* 2.467.8-10 (ἀλόγως ἐπὶ λθέ μ[οι κα]ὶ βιαίως ἀπέσπασεν [τ]οῦς καμή[λο]υς “he attacked me without any reason”) or

¹ E.g. LSJ⁹, p. 72; G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 78 (here a typical Christian meaning “without the Logos” is added); F.R. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español* 2 (Madrid 1980) 168.

² G. Mathieu in the Budé edition of 1967 translates “nous verrons que rien de ce qui se fait avec intelligence, n’existait sans le concours de la parole.”

P.Laur. 3.106 (ἀλόγως καταλαλεῖ “he talks nonsense”).³

In several papyrus letters from the Roman period, however, a person is said to have gone away or to be about to leave ἀλόγως. A search with the aid of the DDBDP yielded some 20 examples. In many of them the translation “without reason” is unconvincing (and sometimes replaced by the editor with a free rendering). In six cases at least (1-6 below) the rendering “without a word, without speaking” fits the context perfectly.

1. *P.Graux* 2.26.2-6 (AD II)

τούτους ἡγάγαμεν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ σήμερον διὰ συνείδησιν
ἀλόγως ἀπεχώρησαν

*Nous les avons amenés à la métropole, mais eux, aujourd’hui, ils s’en sont
allés, à cause de leur mauvaise conscience, de façon inexpliquée.*

The translation “de façon inexpliquée” is contradicted by the preceding διὰ συνείδησιν “à cause de leur mauvaise conscience.” If we translate “they left today without saying a word, because of their bad conscience,” the situation is perfectly normal.

2. *P.Fouad* 78 (AD II-III)

- - - ἀλόγως ἀποστήσῃ μὴ συμβαλὼν μοι

[See that you do not] go off for no good reason without consulting me.

In my view ἀλόγως ἀποστήσῃ “you leave me without saying goodbye” is explained by the following μὴ συμβαλὼν μοι “without meeting me.”

3. *P.Oxy.* 14.1668.26-27 (AD III)

καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν παρουσίαν ἐκδεχόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ ἀλόγως ἀποστώμεν

and we await your presence that we may not withdraw without reason.

The arrival of the correspondent is eagerly awaited “so that we do not leave without having talked.” Again personal contact will provide the occasion for saying goodbye.

4. *P.Oxy.* 42.3066.7-9 (AD III)

καὶ ἀγέμεινας ἀλόγως, καίτοι βουλομένου μου εἰπεῖν σοι τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς
κατασπορᾶς καὶ θρυοκοπίας

*It is unreasonable, the way you’ve stayed away even though I wanted to tell
you the programme for the sowing and rush-cutting.*

³ See the entry in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, s.v. ἄλογος “grundlos, rechtswidrig, sinnlos, unverständlich.”

Here ἀλόγως contrasts with βουλομένου μου εἰπεῖν σοι and points to the fact that no conversation has taken place: “you stayed away without having a word, even though I wanted to talk.”

5. SB 6.9534.43 (= P.Heid. 2.214) (AD III)

ὁ μέντοι Ἀντίνοος τὸ καθόλον οὐ παρέρχεται με, ἀλλὰ βούλεται, ὡς μανθάνω, ἀλόγως ἀποστῆναι

Antinoos aber überlistet mich überhaupt nicht, aber er will, wie ich merke, sich widerrechtlich entfernen.

Here I would translate οὐ παρέρχεται με as “he does not come along to meet me” instead of “er überlistet mich.” The sentence then means “Antinoos does not come along (to meet) me at all, but he wants, so I am informed, to leave without saying goodbye.” Again, “not meeting” and “not having a word” are set side by side as in 2, 3, and 6.

6. P.Abinn. 14.3-6 (about AD 330-350)

θαυμάζ[ω] ὡς ἀλόγως ἐξοίκησας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως μὴ συνταξάμενός μοι περὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων ἔγ[ε]κεν τῆς λοιπάδος

I am surprised at your unreasonable departure from the city without arranging with me about the peasants concerning the balance.

Here ἀλόγως is explained by μὴ συνταξάμενός μοι: the writer is disappointed because his correspondent left without a word and without making any arrangement.

The other instances where the word ἀλόγως is linked with a verb of departure can all be explained the same way, and the translation “without speaking, without saying goodbye” usually fits the context better than “without reason, unreasonably.”

7. SB 5.7636.10-12 (70 or 41 BC; Schubart dates the text to the late Ptolemaic period on the basis of the handwriting)

ἔδει δὲ μὴ ἀλόγως ὑμᾶς κεχωρῖσθαι. τίς γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξέβαλε ἢ τί ἡδικήθητε;

You should not have gone away without saying goodbye. Who indeed has thrown you out or how were you wronged?

8. *P.Oxy.* 3.526 (AD II)

οὐκ ἤμην ἀπαθῆς ἀλόγως σε καταλείπειν was translated by the editors as “I was not so unfeeling as to leave you without reason.” Here too I prefer “it was not without suffering⁴ that I had to leave you without saying goodbye.”

9. *P.Hamb.* 2.192.9-12 (AD 200-250)

ὁ δὲ κατάρατος ναυτικὸς ἀλόγως ἀπεδήμησεν καὶ ἔδοξα ἀσπούδαστος εἶναι, ὥστε οὐκ ἐγὼ μεμπτή

Aber der verfluchte Schiffer war unerwartet abgefahren und ich schien mich nicht beeilt zu haben. Daher bin nicht ich zu tadeln.

R. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2006) 330, translate “the damned skipper left without any reason.” I propose: “he departed without saying a word.” As rightly seen by the editor, the consecutive phrase, ὥστε οὐκ ἐγὼ μεμπτή, should be attached to ὁ ναυτικὸς ἀλόγως ἀπεδήμησεν: “since the sailor went off without saying anything, I am not at fault [i.e. he did not tell me].”

10. *P.Lond.* 3.973b.8-12 (p. 213) (AD III)

δικάζομαι χάριν τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου καὶ οὐ δύναμαι ἄρτι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σ[ἐ] κα[ι] μὴ δόξης με ἀλόγως ἀπεληλυθέναι ἀ[π]ὸ σοῦ

I am going to court concerning the possessions of my brother and I cannot come to you soon and do not think that I have gone away from you without saying goodbye.

11. *P.Tebt.* 2.420.4-6 (AD III)

οἴδατε ὅτι ἀπὸ ζημίας εἰμι καὶ ἀλόγως ἐξήλθατε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μὴ δόντες μοι χάλκινα

You know that I am blameless, and you went away from me without saying goodbye [editors: for no reason], without giving me money.

12. *SB* 6.9415.18 ll.10-12 (= *P.Prag. Varcl* NS 39) (mid AD III)

διὰ τοῦτο ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς ἀποστάντας

For this reason they went away without saying goodbye.

13. *SB* 6.9534.3-7 (= *P.Heid.* 2.214) (AD III; same text as 5)

οὐ πεπαύσομαι γράφων π[ε]ρὶ ἧς πεποιήται καὶ ποιεῖται μοι ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Ἀντίνοος, ὥς καὶ ἐξείσχυται τὸν Σιβίτυλλον πείσαι ἀποσπῆναι μου ἀλόγως καὶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν με ἐπ[ε]ρὶ ξένης

⁴ The negative meaning “unfeeling” for ἀπαθῆς is rare. *P.Oxy.* 3.526 is one of two examples offered in Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español* 2:372.

Ich werde nicht aufhören zu schreiben darüber, was mir an Nachstellung Antinoos angetan hat und noch antut, wie (dass) er es sogar fertig gebracht hat, den Sibityllos zu überreden, sich von mir ohne Grund zu entfernen und mich in der Fremde im Stich zu lassen.

I translate: “to go away from me without saying a word.”

14. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 498.9-14 (= *P.Grenf.* 2.77) (about AD 267-274; see *BL* 9: 87)

θαυμάζω πάνυ [ὅτι] ἀλόγως ἀπέστητε μὴ ἄραντες [τὸ σ]ῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ σ[υ]νλέξαντες ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ οὕτως ἀπέστητε

I am greatly surprised that you departed without saying goodbye, without taking the body of your brother, but collected all that he possessed and so departed.

Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1.157 translate “you departed for no good reason”; Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge 1910) no. 50, translates “you went off so cruelly.” The former translation does not fit the context (they did have good reason to run off!), the latter is a very free rendering.

15. *P.Merton* 1.38.10-12 (ca. AD 350)

ἀλώκος (l. ἀλόγως) ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἦλθαν πρὸς σέ

Without a word [ed. without any grounds] *they left me and went to you.*

16. *P.Amh.* 2.145.15-18 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 53 (about AD 370-430)

γνώθι δὲ ὅτι [ἐ]λυπήθην διόλτι/ ἀπεδήμησας ἀλόγως [ἐπ]εῖ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ συνταγή, ἀλλ’ ἐχάρην [ἀκού]σας διὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου, ὅτι ἀνέρχῃ [ταχ]υτέρου πρὸς ἡμᾶς

Know that I am grieved because you went away without saying a word, since this is the order, but I rejoiced at hearing through the praepositus that you are soon coming back to us.

The first editor translates “without cause”; G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III et IV secolo* (Milano 1923) no. 41, gives “senzo motivo”;⁵ M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo in Egitto* (Firenze 1968) no. 49, offers a free rendering: “tu partisti inaspettatamente.”

16a. Transcribed by J.-L. Fournet in H. Cuvigny, *La route de Myos Hormos* (Cairo 2003) 2:437, n. 52, an ostracon from the camp of Maximianon in the eastern desert.

⁵ The contradiction between “you left without motive” and the following “because this is the order (give to you)” noticed by Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane* (p. 263, note to l. 17), disappears in our interpretation.

φανερὸν σοι ποιῶ, κύριε, τῇ ποστῇ τοῦ ποιοῦ μηνός τινα στρατιώτην Ἰούλις ἐξηλθόντα τὴν πόρταν ἀλόγως χωρὶς μου τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἀχρι σήμερον οὐ φαίνεται.

Je te signale, maître, que tel jour de tel mois un soldat du nom de Iulius est sorti par la porte sans raison et sans m'en sviser et que jusqu' à ce jour il n'a pas réapparu.

If the translation “sans raison” is changed into “without saying anything” the message becomes more logical: ἀλόγως is explained by the following χωρὶς μου τῆς γνώμης “without my consent.” The soldier has left without permission and without saying anything.

To these I would like to add three cases where my interpretation necessitates a reinterpretation or a re-reading of the text.

17. In *P.Oxy.* 42.3085 ll. 3-12 (AD III) the two meanings of ἀλόγως apparently occur side by side.

ἀλόγως ἀποστὰς οὐ καλῶς ἐποίησας ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ χοιριδίου ἐν (δραχμαίς) ξ - - - μὴ τοίνυν ποιήσης με σκυ ἀλόγως, ἵνα μηδὲ τὰ ἀναλώματα ἀπαιτήσω σε.

The second instance is not linked with a departure. This criticism addressed to the correspondent is rightly translated as “do not trouble (?) me unreasonably, so that I cannot even ask back the expenses from you.” But in the first sentence the verb ἀφίσταμαι is used, as in 2, 3, 5, 12, 13-15, and 17. I would render as “you did not do well to go away without saying anything, taking the price of the piglet, at a value of 60 drachmae” instead of “you ought not to have gone off unreasonably with the price of the pig.”

18. *P.Lips.* 1.111.20 = Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, no. 57 (AD 300-400)

γνώθι δέ, κύριέ μο[υ] [ἀ]δ[ε]λφ[έ], διὰ τί ἀλόγως ἀπαιδ[ι] . . .]σας αὐτῷ
It is tempting to supplement the verb as ἀπαιδῆ[μη]σας αὐτῷ,⁶ (for a photograph, see the Leipzig website: http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00001110), even though the dative is somewhat awkward, and to translate “know, dear brother, why you left him without saying goodbye.”

19. In the fragmentary *P.Oxy.* 48.3413.3- 4 (AD IV) I propose to supplement δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως [ἀπεδήμης]ας μὴ ἀπαντήσας “for this reason you went off without a word, without meeting (me).” This text follows, I think, the pattern of the above mentioned examples, where “leaving without saying goodbye” is specified by a verb of meeting (see e.g. 2, 5, and 6)

⁶ Ἀποδημέω is used in this same context in 9 and 16.

In all cases listed above either the addressee⁷ or a third person⁸ (less often the writer himself⁹) has left ἀλόγως, and this abrupt departure is usually regretted by the writer. This is clearly an epistolographical topos, expressed by the same word over a period of four centuries (from the early Roman period to the fourth century AD). The editors, starting from normal Greek idiom as attested in the dictionaries, translate ἀλόγως as “without cause, without any grounds, for no good reason, unreasonably,” sometimes more freely as “widerrechtlich, unexpectedly” and even “cruelly.” The free versions are due to the fact that the normal meaning of ἀλόγως does not well fit the context. Translating “without saying a word, without saying goodbye” everywhere fits and in the first six instances it is strongly supported by the context.

If the above interpretation is accepted, one wonders how the situation in which somebody suddenly departed so that there was no occasion of having a final greeting, was expressed in ancient letters, both in the papyri and in the authors, when no use was made of the word ἀλόγως. Since contact over long distances was difficult in antiquity (no telephone, no email, no regular postal service), it was important for correspondents to see each other in person before departure, in order to make arrangements and also for emotional reasons. Though Koskenniemi does not discuss our topos,¹⁰ it is in fact a variant of the common opposition between bodily presence (“Anwesenheit”) and spacial distance (“räumliche Entfernung”).

Missing an appointment can of course be expressed in many ways, e.g. SB 20.14132.6-28, where Ptolema writes to her sister Heros: λοιποῦμε ὥτι οὐχ ὥρακα σ[ε] ὑ[π]άγουσα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν “I regret that I did not see you when I left for Alexandria”; *P.Mich.* 8.487.3-5: γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπέγνων σε ἐκίθεν ἐξελεηλυθέναι πρὸ τοῦ με ἐλθῖν, καὶ λίαν ἐλυπήθην διὰ τὸ μὴ θεωρηκέναι σε “when I reached Rome I learned that you had departed from there before I came and I was deeply distressed because I did not see you”; *BGU* 2.424.10-12 (AD I-II): μέμφομαι Ζωιδοῦν ὅτι ἐξῆλθε καὶ οὐ σεσήμανκέ με ἵνα δῶ αὐτῇ ἐπιστόλιον “I blame Zoidous that she left and did not indicate to me that I should give her a letter”; *P.Oxy.* 10.1349 (AD IV): ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐχθὲς μὴ διαλεχθεῖς σοι περὶ τῆς κυθρίδος “since I left you yesterday without talking to you about the pot.” In the last two cases there was some contact, but a specific subject matter was not discussed. In one instance the same situation is apparently expressed by the preposition ἄνευ: ὀργίζομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπετάξατο

⁷ 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, and 16-19.

⁸ 1, 5, 9, 12, 13, 15, and 16a.

⁹ 3, 8, and 10.

¹⁰ H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefs bis 400 n. Chr.* (Helsinki 1956). He could have discussed it on pp. 155-185.

μοι, ἀλλὰ ἄνευ μου ἀπεδήμησε (SB 18.13867), which the editors render as “I am angry because she did not bid me good-bye, but went away without me.” The usual meaning of ἄνευ followed by a person “without permission of”¹¹ fits the context less well than “without seeing/speaking to me.” Word searches in the TLG for the same situation in literary correspondence were not successful, though they did turn up the expression οὐ προσειπὼν ἀπεδήμησα in Libanius, *Ep.* 182.03.02.

The opposite situation, where the correspondents did manage to have personal contact before one of them left, is also found, e.g. in *P.Oxy.* 7.1070.55-56: καὶ Εὐδ[αίμων] αὐτῷ ἀπετάξατο [λ]έγων ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐ σχολάζομεν ἑτέροις ἐξερχόμενοι “Eudaimon parted with him, saying: at present we are not at leisure and are visiting others”; this goodbye was rather unsatisfactory for the writer. In *P.Tebt.* 3.755.6-14 (early second cent. BC) the writer is still hoping that a contact will eventually come about: καὶ πρότερον τυγχάνω σοι γεγραφηκῶς ὅπως σοι συνλαλήσω πρὸ τοῦ με καταπλεῦσαι, καὶ νῦν, ἐάνπερ φαίνεται, καλῶς ποιήσεις συνμίξας μοι μάλιστα μὲν τῇ κ “I have written to you before in order to have a talk with you before I sail down, and now, as you see fit, I shall be obliged if you will meet me, preferably on the 20th.”

Since the meaning “without words” for ἀλόγως is limited to papyrus letters from Egypt, one wonders whether the word may render here some Egyptian expression,¹² but I have not succeeded in finding a corresponding word, such as *iwty dd* or *ΔΤΩΔΧΕ* in Demotic or Coptic letters.

¹¹ Many examples in E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* 2.2 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934) 519-520.

¹² Cf. ἐπισκέψασθαι as a calque from Egyptian *wṯnꜥ*, discussed by W. Clarysse, “An epistolary formula,” *CdÉ* 65 (1990) 103-106. An Egyptian background is especially clear in 16, where the Greek letter is followed by a Coptic greeting.

Grenfell and Hunt on the Dates of Early Christian Codices: Setting the Record Straight

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Abstract

Since the middle of the twentieth century, there has been a tendency among scholars to marginalize the palaeographical opinions of Grenfell and Hunt. Their alleged belief that the codex format was a post-third century development is said to have induced them to date fragments of Christian codices much later than they would have on strictly palaeographical grounds. I argue that this is a serious misrepresentation of their views and practices.

Introduction

Between the two of them, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt edited thousands of papyri from Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere in Egypt. It is therefore somewhat curious that the dates they assigned to some of the papyri they edited are dismissed by certain scholars.¹ Roger Bagnall has recently noted this

¹ Hunt was especially well-known for his palaeographical acumen. Edgar Lobel, himself no mean palaeographer, described Hunt thus: "You had to get up early in the morning to catch Hunt out on a palaeographical question." The quotation is reported in Eric G. Turner, "The Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Society" in *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982*, ed. T.G.H. James (London 1983) 161-178, reprinted in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, ed. A. Bowman et al. (London 2007) 17-27, quotation from p. 23. That is not to say that Hunt was infallible. Turner elsewhere relates the story of *P.Oxy.* 17.2105, an "edict of a prefect read by Hunt as Petronius Honoratus, prefect in A.D. 148. In 1967 Dr. John Rea reread this name as that of Maevius Honoratianus, prefect in A.D. 231-36, i.e., almost ninety years later! The hand can in fact be easily paralleled from documents of the middle of the third century. ... This example is especially instructive since it is the error of an outstanding palaeographer" (*The Typology of the Early Codex* [Philadelphia 1977] 3). Grenfell's strengths are generally regarded as lying outside the specific area of palaeography. In one of the obituaries he wrote for Grenfell, Hunt said this about his collaborator:

phenomenon: “Grenfell and Hunt are regularly described in much of the more recent scholarly literature about the codex as having assigned excessively late dates to many of their finds, as a result of an a priori judgment that codex fragments should not be found before the fourth century.”² Surveying the history of these claims and the alleged evidence for them shows that, in spite of their persistence, they are remarkably unfounded.

The Origin of the Criticism

The criticism of Grenfell and Hunt’s dating of early Christian papyri on the basis of their supposed theories about the development of the codex seems to originate with Colin H. Roberts.³ In a brief (four-page) article in the 1953 issue of the *Harvard Theological Review*, Roberts published a papyrus fragment of Matthew’s gospel (P. Magdalen Gr. 17), now better known by its Gregory-Aland number of P64.⁴ Roberts mentions “a note in the Librarian’s report for 1901,” which contains the following statement: “Mr. Huleatt [the donor of the fragments] supposes them to be of the third century; but Dr. Hunt who recently examined the fragments thinks they may be assigned with more probability to the fourth century.”⁵ Roberts, however, believed that the fragments could be dated considerably earlier, and as part of his argument, he made a broad criticism of the way Grenfell and Hunt handled Christian papyri: “It has been recognized for some time that Grenfell and Hunt were unduly conservative in

“Though, of course, an expert decipherer, especially of Ptolemaic scripts, he is hardly to be accounted a great palaeographer” (*Proceedings of the British Academy* 12 [1926] 357-364, quotation from p. 363).

² Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton 2009) 11-12. Bagnall’s own opinion on the matter is more measured. He continues, “That may have been true in the early stages of their work, but it is not necessarily a fair assumption about their later work, when the finds from Oxyrhynchus had made it clear that codices occurred in the third century” (p. 12). As we shall see, other commentators have not been so generous to Grenfell and Hunt.

³ There were earlier criticisms that Grenfell and Hunt dated Christian manuscripts too late, but those claims were not related to the codex format. I will discuss these criticisms separately below.

⁴ Colin H. Roberts, “An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel,” *Harvard Theological Review* 46 (1953) 233-237. This article is the most frequently referenced, but Roberts also criticized Grenfell and Hunt elsewhere. In 1954, he wrote that “in their dating of Christian texts Grenfell and Hunt can now be seen to have been ultra-conservative” (“Early Christianity in Egypt: Three Notes,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 [1954] 92-96, quotation from p. 94).

⁵ Cited in Roberts, “An Early Papyrus” (n. 4) 233.

their dating of some early Christian papyri, largely because they accepted the assumption common to palaeographers of the last century that a manuscript written in a codex could not be earlier than the third century.”⁶

To demonstrate “the operation of this prejudice” in regard to Grenfell and Hunt’s treatment of Christian Greek papyri, Roberts puts forward as an example *P.Oxy.* 1.30, a fragment of *De bellis Macedonicis*, a non-Christian text in Latin written on parchment.⁷ It was originally dated by Grenfell and Hunt to the third century but later reassigned by Jean Mallon to the late first or early second century.⁸ It is indeed a case in which Grenfell and Hunt most likely dated a text too late, but its relevance to Roberts’ specific claim about Grenfell and Hunt’s treatment of Christian Greek papyrus codices is not immediately apparent. Furthermore, Roberts’ tone in dealing with Grenfell and Hunt is highly dismissive and his summary inaccurate. He writes that “they plump for the late third or fourth century largely because the book was a codex.”⁹ What Grenfell and Hunt actually say is that the “archaic characteristics in the handwriting are counterbalanced by the occurrence of the uncial forms of D and Q, the tendency to roundness in E, as well as by the facts that the fragment is from a book and not a roll, and that the material used is vellum and not papyrus. These factors combined render it impossible to refer the fragment to a period earlier than the third century.”¹⁰ A number of factors were at play beyond the codex format.¹¹ And in fact, they date the fragment simply to the third century (see the table on p. xii of *P.Oxy.* 1), not, as Roberts claims, the “late third or fourth.”

Presumably as a counterpoint to this example, Roberts offers Grenfell and Hunt’s treatment of *P.Oxy.* 3.405, fragments of a roll that they first thought to be an unidentified Christian text in Greek. They claimed that the hand was “not later than the first half of the third century, and might be as old as the latter part of the second.”¹² They go on to assert that “it is probably the earliest

⁶ Roberts, “An Early Papyrus” (n. 4) 234.

⁷ Roberts’ reference to “P.Oxy. I, 35” is a misprint.

⁸ Jean Mallon, “Quel est le plus ancien exemple connu d’un manuscrit latin en forme de codex?” *Emerita* 17 (1949) 1-8. For more recent bibliography on this piece, see Kouznetsov, “A Rhythmical Arrangement of the *Fragmentum De bellis Macedonicis*,” *BASP* 47 (2010) 117-130.

⁹ Roberts, “An Early Papyrus,” 235.

¹⁰ The quotation is from *P.Oxy.* 1, p. 59.

¹¹ Mallon’s piece is primarily critical of Grenfell and Hunt’s Latin palaeographical skills.

¹² In the table of papyri on p. viii, they describe these pieces simply as “third century.” These fragments were later identified as part of Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies*. See *P.Oxy.* 4, pp. 264-265.

Christian fragment yet published.” Roberts takes this as evidence that Grenfell and Hunt were willing to date Christian papyrus rolls appreciably earlier than they would Christian codices. Yet in 1911, Grenfell and Hunt did not hesitate to state that the hand of a fragment of a papyrus codex of Exodus (*P.Oxy.* 8.1074) “might well be placed quite at the beginning of the third century or even earlier.”¹³ The tension that Roberts wants to detect between palaeographical datings and formats in the work of Grenfell and Hunt seems to be absent in the examples he provides.

It is safe to conclude that Roberts’ original criticism of Grenfell and Hunt is at the very least open to dispute simply based on the examples that Roberts chose for illustration. Roberts does, however, claim to have additional support for his thesis in the work of earlier scholars. His 1953 article had two footnotes. Both of them are quite informative, but I want to delay their discussion momentarily to illustrate how Roberts’ criticism is currently being employed.

Recent Formulations of Roberts’ Criticism

Among some biblical scholars, Roberts’ claims have been taken to great lengths, such that nearly all the opinions of Grenfell and Hunt regarding the dates of Christian manuscripts are dismissed out of hand. An especially unfortunate example of this phenomenon is the handbook of Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett published in 1999 and reprinted in 2001.¹⁴ The authors use this “codex charge” as a blunt instrument to try to undermine nearly every date Grenfell and Hunt proposed for a Christian manuscript. To cite just one example, in regard to *P.Oxy.* 7.1008 and 7.1009, fragments of 1 Corinthians and Philippians (now assigned the Gregory-Aland numbers P15 and P16), Comfort and Barrett write, “Grenfell and Hunt dated these fragments to the fourth century. But this dating, influenced by their conception as to when

¹³ Having said this, Grenfell and Hunt describe *P.Oxy.* 8.1074, just as they did *P.Oxy.* 3.405, as “third century” in the table of papyri on p. ix. Like most papyrus copies of Septuagint texts, this piece is not indisputably Christian, but the occurrence of the contraction $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ for $\kappa\acute{o}\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ points in that direction.

¹⁴ Comfort and Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts: A Corrected, Enlarged Edition of The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Wheaton 2001). It may seem out of place to single out for criticism here a book published by a non-academic press better known for its publication of the *Left Behind* series of Christian fiction, but the Comfort and Barrett volume is regularly cited in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books. The highly tendentious nature of Comfort and Barrett needs to be more widely recognized.

the Christian codex was developed, is too late—by a century.”¹⁵ This statement completely misrepresents what Hunt (Grenfell did not participate in this volume)¹⁶ actually says: “The handwriting, a good-sized sloping uncial, may be assigned on its own evidence to the second half of the fourth century, and to this date the accompanying documents [e.g., *P.Oxy.* 7.1033 (392 CE)], which were of the late fourth or early fifth century, also point.”¹⁷ It is clear that Hunt assigned the date not on the basis of format (codex vs. roll) but rather on the basis of palaeography and the context of the find. Comfort and Barrett’s reference to the codex format is thus a red herring, and one that they repeatedly invoke.¹⁸ They are not alone in doing so.¹⁹

The Pre-History of Roberts’ Criticism

With this current state of affairs in mind, I now turn to what I call the pre-history of the criticism of Grenfell and Hunt’s dating of early Christian codices. If Roberts’ own examples did not make his case, perhaps there is something of merit to be found in the literature he cites. I mentioned earlier that Roberts’ original statement of his criticism had two footnotes. The first of these supposedly substantiates his claims against Grenfell and Hunt with citations of two pieces of scholarship, a book by Harold Idris Bell and Theodore

¹⁵ Comfort and Barrett (n. 14) 95.

¹⁶ Hunt’s name is attached to the first seventeen volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. His participation in volumes 12 (1916) and 13 (1918) was limited due to his military service. Grenfell’s health problems prevented him from taking part in the preparation of some volumes; his name is absent from volumes 7 (1909), 8 (1911), and 9 (1912). Grenfell’s contributions to volumes 15 (1921) and 16 (1923) were minimal, and volume 17 (1927) was a memorial for Grenfell, who died in May of 1926.

¹⁷ The quotation is from *P.Oxy.* 7, p. 4.

¹⁸ See, for example, Comfort and Barrett (n. 14) 21–22, 74, 101, and 115.

¹⁹ Perhaps the most notorious example of the unfounded criticism of Grenfell and Hunt’s dating of early Christian codices occurs in the work of C.P. Thiede, “Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland P64): A Reappraisal,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 105 (1995) 13–20. Thiede writes, “As Roberts pointed out in his commentary, Hunt and his colleague B.P. Grenfell had assumed, on principle, that manuscripts written in a codex could not be earlier than the third, preferably the fourth century. He quotes the amusing example of *P.Oxy.* I,35 [as we saw above, n. 7, it should be *P.Oxy.* 1.30], a Latin codex fragment of an otherwise unknown History of the Macedonian Wars now at the British Library, which they analyzed as belonging to the second century, perhaps even before AD 79—for palaeographical reasons—but which they nonetheless assigned to the late third or fourth century *because it is a vellum codex*” (15–16, italics in original). See now the treatment of Thiede’s claims in Bagnall (n. 2) 25–40.

C. Skeat written in 1935 and an article by Bell written in 1944. I will examine them in chronological order.

Roberts first refers to Bell and Skeat's edition of the Egerton gospel.²⁰ After making palaeographical comparisons with three securely dated papyri, Bell and Skeat argued that the Egerton gospel fragments should be assigned a date in the middle of the second century.²¹ It is in this context that they bring up Grenfell and Hunt:

There is one last point that should be dealt with in connection with the problem of date. If the hand, as seen in the facsimile, be compared with that of P.Oxy 656 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part IV, plate ii), a codex of Genesis (cf., too, P.Ryl. 5), it will be seen that there is a really striking similarity, both in the general appearance and in the forms of individual letters. ... Now Grenfell and Hunt, after remarking that the script (of 'decidedly early appearance') has 'in some respects more affinity with types of the second century than of the third,' conclude: 'To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned, though we should be inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century.' Their authority is certainly high; but the evidence of an undated text cannot be preferred to that of such dated or roughly datable ones as have been cited above, and it may be remarked that in 1904, when Part IV of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* appeared, Christian texts which could confidently be dated in the second century were unknown. It seemed doubtful whether Christianity had so early made sufficient headway outside Alexandria to leave any archaeological traces; and partly for this reason, and partly out of a laudable anxiety to avoid extravagant claims for new discoveries, there was a tendency to post-date the earlier Christian papyri.²²

Roberts' second reference is to an article written by Bell in 1944 that echoes the point about Grenfell and Hunt's treatment of P.Oxy. 4.656.²³ Bell writes:

²⁰ Harold Idris Bell and Theodore C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London 1935).

²¹ They cite P.Berol. 6854 (= BGU 1.22), P.Lond. 1.130, and P.Fay. 110 and conclude that "it seems extremely improbable, on the basis of this and other evidence which has been examined, that [the Egerton gospel] can be dated later than the middle of the second century" (Bell and Skeat [n. 20] 2).

²² Bell and Skeat (n. 20) 6.

²³ Bell, "Evidences of Christianity in Egypt During the Roman Period," *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944) 185-208.

Grenfell and Hunt, while remarking that the hand has “in some respects more affinity with types of the second century than of the third,” eventually placed it in the first half of the latter. I cannot help feeling that in dating this and some other Biblical papyri that they were not uninfluenced by the conviction, natural enough at the time, that Christianity had hardly penetrated Middle and Upper Egypt before the third century. I should myself place this papyrus quite decidedly in the second century, and this is, I know, the view of others also, including Sir Frederic Kenyon.²⁴

What is interesting is that neither piece refers to the opinion of Grenfell and Hunt regarding the *development of the codex*. Both refer instead to Grenfell and Hunt’s (alleged) theory of the spread of Christianity in Egypt. Both pieces also refer to Grenfell and Hunt’s discussion of the Genesis fragment, *P.Oxy.* 4.656. I will address each of these topics in turn. First, on the question of what Grenfell and Hunt thought about the early spread of Christianity in Egypt, there is precious little evidence. Yet, the evidence that is available points in exactly the opposite direction of Bell and Skeat’s claims. In his report of the first season’s excavations (1896/7), Grenfell writes:

I had for some time felt that one of the most promising sites in Egypt for finding Greek manuscripts was the city of Oxyrhynchus. ... Above all, Oxyrhynchus seemed to be a site where fragments of Christian literature might be expected of an earlier date than the fourth century, to which our oldest manuscripts of the New Testament belong; for the place was renowned in the fourth and fifth centuries on account of the number of its churches and monasteries, and the rapid spread of Christianity about Oxyrhynchus, as soon as the new religion was officially recognized, implied that it had already taken a strong hold during the preceding centuries of persecution.²⁵

It is not much to go on, but the last line is the best indication we have of what

²⁴ Bell (n. 23) 201. It should be noted that Kenyon had taken issue with Grenfell and Hunt’s dating practices from the start. In a review of the second volume of Oxyrhynchus papyri, Kenyon wrote, “A few words may be allowed on some palaeographical points, since the editors have been good enough to point out, from time to time, the bearing of their new evidence on the statements made in my *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*. ... Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt are generally disposed to date doubtful MSS. somewhat later than I do, sometimes dragging them down, with what seems excessive caution, to the latest possible point.” See Kenyon’s comments in *The Classical Review* 14 (1900) 132-134, quotation from p. 133.

²⁵ This report is reprinted in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (n. 1) 345.

Grenfell and Hunt's working hypotheses and expectations were: In the centuries preceding the end of persecution, Christianity was already well established in Oxyrhynchus.

I now turn to the second point that Bell and Skeat bring up, Grenfell and Hunt's edition of *P.Oxy.* 4.656. Grenfell and Hunt's full statement about the date of these four leaves of a papyrus codex is as follows (numbers in bold refer to Oxyrhynchus papyrus numeration):

The MS. was carefully written in round upright uncials of good size and decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more affinity with types of the second century than of the third. To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned, though we should be inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century; in any case this may rank with the original Oxyrhynchus Logia (**1**) and the fragments of St. Matthew's and St. John's Gospels (**2, 208**) as one of the most ancient Greek theological books so far known, and it has some claim to be considered the oldest of the group. Another mark of its age is perhaps to be recognized in the absence of the usual contractions for θεός, κύριος, &c., but this may of course be no more than an individual peculiarity.²⁶

It is thus apparent that Grenfell and Hunt were ambivalent about the date, and in fact, the range of dates they finally settled on was "Late 2nd or early 3rd cent." (this is the date that appears in the table of papyri on p. viii). Notice what has taken place: Grenfell and Hunt offered a reasonably wide date range and stated their suspicions that *P.Oxy.* 4.656 fell somewhere near the middle of that range. Bell and Skeat would prefer both to date *P.Oxy.* 4.656 slightly earlier than the early end of Grenfell and Hunt's proposed range *and to restrict* that earlier date to a much narrower range. Skeat reiterated his criticism of Grenfell and Hunt in his edition of *P.Oxy.* 50.3523, a fragment of the Gospel of John now designated as P90. He wrote (bold numbers again refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri designations):

In general appearance the hand resembles that of the Egerton Gospel (British Library, Egerton Papyrus 2), but an even closer similarity is with the fragments of Genesis, IV **656**, especially when comparison is made with both sides of the totality of these fragments rather than the small specimen reproduced in *P.Oxy.* IV, pl. II. The script of IV **656** was described by the original editors as of 'decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more affinity with types of the

²⁶ The quotation is from *P.Oxy.* 4, pp. 28-29.

second century rather than of the third'. Nevertheless they assigned it, rather illogically, to the third century, though they were 'inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century'. This judgement was questioned by H.I. Bell and T.C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel* (1935) 6-7, where reasons were put forward, in which Kenyon concurred, for redating IV 656 to the second century. Grenfell and Hunt's conclusions have been similarly criticized by E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 11, although Turner himself would prefer a date of 2nd-3rd cent. (ibid., OT 9, 164).²⁷

The invocation of Eric Turner is intriguing. Skeat notes only that Turner criticized Grenfell and Hunt's conclusions. It is, then, quite curious that "Turner himself would prefer a date of 2nd-3rd cent.," which as we have seen, is basically the date range that Grenfell and Hunt originally proposed. One begins to suspect that Turner's view of Grenfell and Hunt might be more complex than Skeat implies. Let us, then, move on to Turner's comments.

Eric G. Turner's Version of the Criticism

Perhaps one of the reasons that Roberts' criticism of Grenfell and Hunt's dating of early Christian codices has stuck over the years is that the name of Eric Turner has sometimes been attached to it. Indeed, Turner has criticized Grenfell and Hunt's dating practices, but close attention to Turner's phrasing actually shows an understated disagreement with Roberts. In 1968, Turner described the development of twentieth century thought about the papyrus codex:

Firm ground for a history of the development and date of the codex form has been won only slowly and painfully. The change in our view of it has come not only from the accumulation of examples, but from a slowly increasing confidence in the earlier dating of the handwriting of important examples. It is, of course, a tricky matter to judge a date only on the basis of the writing. For long it was held as a dogma that codices did not exist before the fourth century after Christ, and that papyrus made up in codex form was a freak, so used by poor men at a late date in imitation of parchment. ... Grenfell and Hunt pioneered a relatively early dating of examples of codices, though they tended (under the influence of the dogma) to date the handwriting later than they would have if it had been on a roll. It is possible that the

²⁷ *P.Oxy.* 50, p. 3.

pendulum has now swung too far, and that the modern tendency is to date examples too early. But the anchor of the view now widely held is on good holding ground, and is supported by sufficient examples for which there is some measure of objective dating. It is possible, none the less, that the general picture may have to be revised in detail as new examples come forward.²⁸

Turner is characteristically balanced and cautious. He noted that Grenfell and Hunt were in fact ahead of their time in pushing dates for codices earlier than had been thought possible, but, more importantly, Turner has eliminated the portion of Roberts' claim that Grenfell and Hunt singled out *Christian* texts for unfairly late dating.

There is more. Nine years later in *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Turner revisited the issue in a brief summary: "Just because the *communis opinio* down to the 1930s was that the codex was late in invention and acceptance, not really at home until the fourth century after Christ, papyrologists tended to give late dates to papyrus manuscripts in codex form."²⁹ After noting that the 1930s saw publications by Roberts, Bell, Skeat, and Frederic Kenyon assigning second century dates to some Christian codices, Turner continued: "Earlier datings were revised, and codices were allowed to be older than their first editors had suggested. This reaction really gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s and has in my view now gone a great deal too far."³⁰

In an illuminating footnote to these sentences, Turner actually presents the evidence for the allegedly late dates assigned by Grenfell and Hunt (the bold names and numbers refer to Turner's catalogue of codices):

It is instructive to document this assertion. Grenfell and Hunt made a number of remarks in passing in their editions of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. For instance, on P. Oxy. iii 459 = **54** Demosthenes, "we should attribute it to c. iii. It is therefore an unusually early example of a classical text in codex form"; P. Oxy. iv 697 = **280**, Xenophon, is nevertheless assigned to c. A.D. 200. This dating is perhaps a little too late, but it is remarkably honest from these editors in view of their comments on iv 656 = **OT 9**, "The MS. was carefully written in round upright uncials of good size and decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more affinity with types of the second century than of the third. To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned." (H.I. Bell and T.C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*,

²⁸ Eric G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford 1980 [1st ed. 1968]) 10.

²⁹ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (n. 1) 3.

³⁰ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (n. 1) 4.

p. 6, confidently date it c. ii.) On vi 873 = **92** Hesiod, they remark, “the character of the handwriting...points to a date not very late in the 3rd cent., in which the codex form is somewhat uncommon except for theological works.” Oxy. vi 849 = **NT Apocrypha 13**, is dated to c. iv rather than c. iii because it is on parchment. “Had the material been papyrus we should have been more disposed to assign it to late c. iii rather than to c. iv.” The same reason is given in regard to vii 1007 = **OT 2** (Latin Genesis on parchment), because the material is parchment, and the BM Demosthenes 34473(1) (= **47**) and Berlin Euripides Cretans (80) are grouped along with it in the third century. A.S. Hunt writes of P. Oxy. x 1226 = Psalms (**OT 65**), “a papyrus-book of early date”; and similarly on xiii 1596 = (**P 28**); these should probably be dated earlier than by their first editor.³¹

Turner’s examples allow us to see at least two important points. First, they demonstrate that more than one issue was under consideration in the dates assigned by Grenfell and Hunt: not only roll vs. codex, but also papyrus vs. parchment. Second, and more pertinent to the current discussion, the question of format (roll vs. codex) does not arise particularly or especially in examples of *Christian* papyri, because Grenfell and Hunt regarded the form of the codex as exceptional in the third century only for *classical* literature (this point seems quite certain: “...not very late in the 3rd cent., in which the codex form is somewhat uncommon *except for theological works*,” my emphasis). Thus, without overtly criticizing Roberts, Turner actually undercut a key part of Roberts’ criticism – namely that Grenfell and Hunt singled out *Christian* codices for late dating. They did not.

Grenfell and Hunt’s Early Thoughts on the Christian Codex

In fact, when one actually examines the early writings of Grenfell and Hunt, it becomes clear that they were convinced from a very early point that the “theological” (read: “Christian”) use of the codex was fully established already in the third century. Thus, in relation to *P.Oxy.* 2.208 (a fragment of John’s gospel published in 1899), they wrote:

It is commonly asserted (e.g. in Kenyon’s *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 24) that the book form is characteristic of the close of the papyrus period, and that the use of papyrus in *codices* was an experiment which was soon given up in favour of the more durable

³¹ Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (n. 1) 11, n. 8.

vellum. But the evidence now available does not justify either of these generalizations. When the papyrus book first made its appearance in Egypt it is impossible to say; but at any rate it was in common use for theological literature in the third century. Indeed the theological fragments which can be placed in that century are almost without exception derived from papyrus *codices*, not from rolls. This fact can scarcely be due to accident; and it points to a prevalence of the book form at that early date much greater than is frequently supposed. Moreover, papyrus in the book form did not run so insignificant a course. It may fairly claim to have made a good fight, if not to have held its own, in Egypt against vellum so long as Greek MSS. continued to be written there. At Oxyrhynchus it was certainly the material more generally employed from the fifth to the seventh century.³²

It seems assured, then, that at least as early as 1899, Grenfell and Hunt recognized that the received wisdom with regard to the development of the papyrus codex was in need of revision. Indeed, they stressed the preponderance of examples of Christian codices in the third century, and they recognized an early Christian preference for the codex.

What is more puzzling is that Roberts *knew* this fact. We now finally return to that second footnote to Roberts' 1953 article: "An exception is the first of the Oxyrhynchus Logia (P.Oxy. I, 1) for which they were prepared to envisage a date c. A.D. 200."³³ Grenfell and Hunt's treatment of this piece, which Roberts characterizes as exceptional, is worthy of further examination.³⁴ In their original edition of the piece produced in 1897, Grenfell and Hunt describe it in this way:

It was found at the very beginning of our work upon the town, in a mound which produced a great number of papyri belonging to the first three centuries of our era, those in the immediate vicinity of our fragment belonging to the second and third centuries. This fact, together with the evidence of the handwriting, which has a characteristically Roman aspect, fixes with certainty 300 A.D. as the lowest limit for the date at which the papyrus was written. The general probabilities of the case, the presence of the usual contractions found in biblical MSS., and the fact that the papyrus was in book, not roll, form, put the first century out of the question, and make the first half

³² *P.Oxy.* 2, p. 2.

³³ Roberts, "An Early Papyrus" (n. 4) 234, n. 4.

³⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1.1 along with *P.Oxy.* 4.654 (discussed below) have of course now been identified as fragments of the Gospel of Thomas.

of the second unlikely. The date therefore probably falls within the period 150-300 A.D. More than that cannot be said with any approach to certainty. Any attempt to distinguish between second and third century uncials is, in the present paucity of dated material, extremely precarious; and we are the less inclined to enter upon it now, since we anticipate that the Oxyrhynchus collection, which contains a large number of uncial fragments, will eventually throw much light upon the question. But in the meantime, we are of the opinion that the hand of the Logia fragment is far from belonging to the latest type of uncials used before 300 A.D., and that therefore the papyrus was probably written not much later than the year 200.³⁵

Note that the codex format, along with the presence of *nomina sacra*, is said to make a date in the first half of the second century “unlikely.” Most papyrologists would, I think, still find this a basically reasonable statement. The discovery of papyrus codices dating to the late first or early second century is certainly possible, but not very likely. Grenfell and Hunt were also highly cautious in recognizing the limits of the comparanda then available. They left open the possibility that later finds would adjust this dating. In fact, seven years and thousands of edited papyri later, they did revisit this piece.³⁶ After assigning *P.Oxy* 4.654 (another fragment of “sayings of Jesus”) to “the middle or end of the third century,” they say that *P.Oxy*. 1.1 “also belongs to the third century, though probably to an earlier decade.”³⁷ Elsewhere in this later publication, they describe *P.Oxy*. 1.1 as “not later than about the middle of the third century.”³⁸ This date seems to move toward the later end of the spectrum of “150-300 A.D.” that they had proposed in 1897. It appears clear, then, that it is not the case that Grenfell and Hunt assigned an unduly late, third century date to this piece and then retreated under the pressure of mounting evidence to the “c. A.D. 200” date that Roberts mentions. Rather, experience led them

³⁵ Grenfell and Hunt, *Logia Iesou: Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus* (London 1897), quotation from pp. 5-6. The authors elsewhere offer other formulations of the date: “not much later than the beginning of the third century” (p. 16) and “may be as late as the third century” (p. 20).

³⁶ By the 1904 publication of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. 4, Grenfell and Hunt had already edited (in addition to the 839 Oxyrhynchus pieces) *The Amherst Papyri* (Greek), vols. 1 and 2; *Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*; *Greek Papyri*, Series I and II, and *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I.

³⁷ *P.Oxy*. 4, p. 1.

³⁸ *P.Oxy*. 4, p. 10.

to revise their original estimate to a slightly *later* period.³⁹ It seems impossible that Roberts was ignorant of these details, but, oddly, he still saw fit to formulate a sweeping criticism of Grenfell and Hunt's dating of early Christian codices in general.

Conclusion

From nearly the very beginning of their publication of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, Grenfell and Hunt recognized that Christians were well established in Oxyrhynchus in the third century and that the codex was an early development among Christians in Egypt. The claim that they thought otherwise and that this thinking influenced them to date fragments of Christian codices later than they would have on strictly palaeographical grounds has no basis. The preceding review of the scholarship demonstrates that the criticism of Grenfell and Hunt by Roberts, Bell, and Skeat is without merit, and the grosser forms of the claims against Grenfell and Hunt found in the subsequent writings of some biblical scholars should be disregarded. Grenfell and Hunt saw, read, and edited thousands of papyri. Their palaeographical opinions involving Christian codices have been unfairly marginalized, and the modern student who ignores their judgements does so to his or her own detriment.⁴⁰

³⁹ This point is important because we have seen that the narrative of the palaeography of Greek literary papyri in the twentieth century suggests a gradual accumulation of evidence of early Christian codices that somehow objectively compelled the experts to allow for earlier and earlier dates for Christian papyri. This does not seem to be the case. Instead, just after Hunt died in June of 1934, several Christian papyri were rather suddenly assigned to the second century. I have already mentioned Bell and Skeat's publication of the Egerton Gospel (the existence of the papyrus appears to have first been publicly reported in *The Times* [23 January 1935] 13-14). One could also point to Roberts' edition of *P.Ryl.* 3.457 (which appeared in November of 1935 under the title *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* [Manchester 1935]), a fragment of John's gospel (now P52) that Roberts assigned to the first half of the second century. The year 1935 also saw Frederic Kenyon's publication of Chester Beatty Papyrus VI of Numbers and Deuteronomy, which he assigned to early second century or even the late first century (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible, fasc. 5. Numbers and Deuteronomy* [London 1935] ix-x). In this last case, we are fortunate to have Hunt's dissenting voice preserved. Kenyon writes, "it should be noted that Prof. Hunt, while thinking it may well be of the second century, added that this type of hand continued into the third century, and therefore that 'late 2nd or early 3rd, would be a cautious date for it. I think that this dating is almost certainly over-cautious" (p. ix).

⁴⁰ My thanks to Ann Ellis Hanson, Benjamin Henry, AnneMarie Luijendijk, and Kevin W. Wilkinson for offering valuable feedback to earlier versions of this article.

Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets¹

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Abstract

In this article we present an up-to-date list of Greek (and Latin) amulets and formularies from Egypt that contain Christian elements. We first discuss the criteria whereby an item is identified as an amulet or formulary and as containing Christian elements; these criteria are used to classify items as having been certainly, probably, or possibly produced or used as an amulet. We then describe some of the main patterns observed in the corpus: the geographical and chronological distribution of the items, the language in which they were written (Greek versus Latin), the materials on which they were written, the purposes for which they were applied, and the dynamics of continuity and change as Christian forms and elements were introduced into the genre. We conclude with an appendix listing all the items included in the corpus and tabulating a basic set of characteristics for each item.

¹ This article originated in a project of Theodore de Bruyn funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to document the emergence of Christian formulae in Greek amulets and formularies in Late Antiquity. His investigations happily coincided with the arrival of Jitse Dijkstra at the University of Ottawa, who was able to bring his expertise in papyrology and religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt to bear on the project. De Bruyn wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Steven Scott and Stephen Quinlan in the project. He also thanks Robert Daniel (Papyrussammlung der Universität zu Köln), the late Traianos Gagos (University of Michigan Papyrus Collection), Fabian Reiter (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrus-sammlung), and Cornelia Römer (formerly Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek) for their gracious permission to view materials in their respective collections. While de Bruyn is responsible for the collection, analysis, and presentation of the data discussed in this article, the text was prepared jointly by both authors. They are grateful to Peter van Minnen and the anonymous reader for their helpful comments.

In the Graeco-Roman world amulets were commonly used to invoke divine power for healing from sickness, protection against harm, malediction of adversaries, and success in a variety of affairs. These amulets were prepared by specialists who often followed pre-existing models. They were rendered effective by writing, recitation, and other rituals, and were then worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited in some place. Numerous examples of such amulets have been preserved on papyrus, parchment, potsherds (ostraka), wood, metal, stone, and other materials.²

Not surprisingly, as Christian institutions, beliefs, and practices gained ground in the Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity, Christian elements began to appear in these amulets. While ecclesiastical authorities condemned the practice of using amulets or sought to modify it in accordance with Christian norms,³ the habits of both producers and users of these remedies evidently guaranteed their continued production.⁴ Nevertheless, the ways in which amulets appeal to divine power in these texts starts to shift under the influence of the Christian church. Thus, amulets containing Christian elements afford us valuable insights into the dynamics of religious transformation in Late Antiquity; they challenge the normative discourse of ecclesiastical authorities.

It is now more than three decades since Joseph van Haelst published his catalogue of Jewish and Christian literary papyri,⁵ which still serves as a point

² The main collections of these materials are: C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor 1950); K. Preisendanz, E. Heitsch, and A. Henrichs (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1974), hereafter abbreviated as *PGM*; R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. (Opladen 1991-1992), hereafter abbreviated as *Suppl. Mag.*; R. Kotansky (ed.), *Greek Magical Amulets: The Written Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (Opladen 1994). H.D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 2nd ed. (Chicago and London 1992), provides English translations of many Greek texts. J.G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York and Oxford 1992) presents *defixiones* from many regions and cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world.

³ For an overview of the attitudes of Christian authorities to the use of amulets by Christians, see H.F. Stander, "Amulets and the Church Fathers," *Eph* 75 (1993) 55-66. H. Leclecq, "Amulettes," in *DACL* 1.2 (1905) 1787-1790 conveniently summarizes much of the patristic evidence.

⁴ For materials written in Greek containing Christian elements, see, e.g., K. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus I-II*, in *PO* 4.2 (1907) 95-210 and 18.3 (1924) 341-509 at 399-423, hereafter abbreviated as *AMC*; Bonner, *Studies*, 208-228; *PGM* 2, pp. 209-236; and *Suppl. Mag.* 1, pp. 55-112, 2, pp. 49-57. M. Meyer and R. Smith (eds.), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco 1994) provides English translations of Greek and Coptic texts.

⁵ J. van Haelst (ed.), *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976).

of departure for studies of amulets containing Christian elements.⁶ Editions and republications of many materials have appeared since then. In addition to the texts collected by Robert Daniel and Franco Maltomini in *Supplementum Magicum* – a companion to Karl Preisendanz's prior collection of magical texts written in Greek, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*⁷ – publications of relevant Christian materials have appeared in papyrological editions, corpora, series, and journals.⁸ These have been noted, helpfully, in Kurt Treu's and Cornelia Römer's reviews of recently published Christian papyri from 1969 to the present.⁹ Items published by 1994 were included in William Brashear's magisterial survey of Greek magical texts,¹⁰ and a sub-set of texts, Greek iatromagical amulets and

⁶ See, e.g., M.J. Kruger, "P. Oxy. 840: Amulet or Miniature Codex?" *JThS* N.S. 53 (2002) 81-94, incorporated with additions into M.J. Kruger, *The Gospel of the Savior: An Analysis of P.Oxy. 840 and Its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Leiden 2005) 23-40.

⁷ See n. 2 above.

⁸ References to papyrological editions, corpora, and series are abbreviated according to J.F. Oates et al. (eds.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed. (Atlanta 2001); an updated version is available online at <http://scrip-torium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. In the notes for conciseness we refer to individual papyri, parchments, ostraka, tablets, and *lamellae* by their main identifier in the following order of precedence: publication in a collection of magical papyri, a papyrological edition, a papyrological series, or a journal or book; the location of a given item in Tables 1, 2, or 3 is indicated by a bolded number in parentheses following the main identifier. In the tables we provide, in addition to the main identifier, the reference for the papyrological edition or the *editio princeps* (in that order of precedence) in parentheses only for items published in a collection of magical papyri, and any editions, republications, or revised readings subsequent to the publication of the main identifier for all items. Publications subsequent to the main identifier are indicated by the addition of "+" to the number of the item in the tables. When the *editio princeps* has been included in SB, preference is given to the latter. Thus e.g. PGM P2 (16) refers to PGM P2 (*P.Oxy.* 7.1060); PGM P12 (29+) refers to PGM P12 (*DAWW* 42, 1893, 68-69) = *ZPE* 160 (2007) 173 = *ZPE* 168 (2009) 209-212 (+ *P.Vindob.* G 29508); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+) refers to *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (*SB* 14.11494) = *BKT* 9.206. These entries are found under nos. 16, 29, and 67 in the checklist.

⁹ K. Treu, "Christliche Papyri ...," *Archiv* 19 (1969) 169-206; 20 (1970) 145-152; 21 (1971) 207-214; 22 (1973) 367-395; 24/25 (1976) 253-261; 26 (1978) 149-159; 27 (1980) 251-258; 28 (1982) 91-98; 29 (1983) 107-110; 30 (1984) 121-128; 31 (1985) 59-71; 32 (1986) 87-95; 34 (1988) 69-78; 35 (1989) 107-116; 36 (1990) 95-98; 37 (1991) 93-98; C.E. Römer, "Christliche Texte ...," *Archiv* 43 (1997) 107-145; 44 (1998) 129-139; 45 (1999) 138-148; 47 (2001) 368-376; 48 (2002) 349-350; 50 (2004) 275-283; 51 (2005) 334-340; 53 (2007) 250-255.

¹⁰ W.M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey. Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)," in *ANRW* 2.18.5 (1995) 3380-3684 at 3480-3482

formularies, has been recently catalogued by Magali de Haro Sanchez.¹¹ But no comprehensive and up-to-date list of published amulets and formularies containing Christian elements is yet available to scholars.

The usefulness of a current list of these materials is underscored by the fact that many of the texts are not classified as either literary or documentary texts. Thus, they are not consistently included in the *Sammelbuch* or *Berichtungsliste*. In addition, few of them appear in the Corpus of Paraliterary Papyri (CPP).¹² Almost all, fortunately, are included in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) and in TM-Magic, a recently developed online database of magical texts.¹³ But the capacity of such databases for precise or refined classification of materials is limited; they cannot register, for instance, all the questions or uncertainties associated with the classification of an excerpt from a biblical text.

In this article we therefore hope to fulfill this need for precision by presenting an up-to-date list of amulets and formularies found in Egypt, written in Greek (and Latin) on papyrus, parchment, potsherds, wood, bone, and stone, and containing Christian elements.¹⁴ We limit ourselves to materials found in Egypt, firstly, because most of the extant material has been preserved in Egypt and, secondly, because a regional focus permits a more exact study of relationships between Christian practices (such as liturgies, prayers, hymns, and confessions) and applied remedies. We are well aware that there is also a substantial number of amulets and formularies containing Christian elements written in Coptic from Late Antique Egypt. The identification and analysis of the Coptic material, however, fall outside the scope of the present study.¹⁵ For

and 3492-3493.

¹¹ M. de Haro Sanchez, "Catalogue des papyrus iatromagiques grecs," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri e ostraka greci* (Galatina 2004) 37-60.

¹² Now conveniently accessed through Trismegistos (www.trismegistos.org), under "Texts."

¹³ Both may be accessed through Trismegistos. While these databases were used to check data gathered for this article, the collection and analysis of the data were conducted independently.

¹⁴ There are also two Latin texts that we take into account, on which see below, p. 175.

¹⁵ For a general overview of Coptic magical texts see, e.g., D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton 1998) 257-264. The most complete collection of Coptic magical texts, with excellent commentaries, remains A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 3 vols. (Brussels 1930-1931). English translations with useful introductions can be found in Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*. For some recent work on Coptic amulets, see, e.g., J. van der Vliet, "The Amulet P.Mil.Vogl.Copt. Inv. 22: Some Addenda," *JCoptStud* 7 (2005) 141-145, and "A Coptic Charitesion (P. Gieben Copt. 1)," *ZPE* 153 (2005) 131-140.

lamellae, gems, armbands, medallions, pendants, and rings that convey divine power – many of which have been preserved elsewhere in the Mediterranean world because they are more durable than papyrus or parchment – we defer to several recent collections, catalogues, and studies.¹⁶

We begin by defining the criteria whereby an item is identified as an amulet or formulary and as containing Christian elements; this determines, within a margin of probability, the body of texts under review. We then describe some of the main patterns or characteristics that can be observed in the corpus: the geographical and chronological distribution of the items, the language in which they were written (Greek versus Latin), the materials on which the texts were written, the purposes for which they were applied, and the dynamics of continuity and change as Christian forms and elements were introduced into the genre. We conclude with an appendix which lists all the items included in the corpus and summarizes a basic set of characteristics of the items.

Criteria

The preparation of a checklist necessarily entails a consideration of the types of texts to be included. Van Haelst's catalogue included under the heading "amulets" prayers, acclamations, and citations from the Bible or the Christian liturgy,¹⁷ whereas these were excluded from *Supplementum Magicum* and

¹⁶ For *lamellae* see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*. We do include one *lamella* of Egyptian provenance that contains Christian elements: SB 26.16677 (56). For other *lamellae* of known, but not Egyptian, provenance which contain Christian elements, see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, nos. 35, 45, 52 (l. 119 comm.), 53, 56 (? cf. n. 35 below), 65 (?), 66, 68. For gems and rings see now J. Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden 2007), esp. ch. 7. There is no recent catalogue of pendants and medallions, but Bonner, *Studies*, includes many examples. G. Vikan surveys the amuletic use of armbands, medallions, and rings in "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *DOP* 38 (1984) 65-86, and describes the armbands in more detail in "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong," *JWAG* 49/50 (1991-1992) 35-51; both articles are reprinted in G. Vikan, *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium* (Aldershot 2003), chs. IX and XI. A complete list of armbands bearing the incipit of Ps. 90 LXX can be found in T.J. Kraus, "Fragmente eines Amulett-Armbands im British Museum (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier," *JbAC* 48/49 (2005-2006) 114-127 at 120-127, to which one may add the medallions and rings listed in T.J. Kraus, "Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial," *BN* 125 (2005) 39-73 at 57 = "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung – erste Anmerkungen und Datenmaterial," in *Pap. Congr. XXIV*, 2 vols. (Helsinki 2007) 1:499-514 at 508.

¹⁷ Van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 414 s.v. "amulette"; the entry does not, however, capture all items identified as amulets by van Haelst.

Brashear's survey.¹⁸ Both approaches have their merits. While the latter focuses specifically on charms, spells, and formularies that manifest characteristics typically found in such texts, the former is more inclusive of the range of materials with Christian elements that were used for protection, healing, malediction, or similar purposes.

Because we are interested in continuity in function as well as change in form in the production and use of these materials, we have adopted a relatively inclusive approach, taking into account not only charms and spells but also texts that are not solely or explicitly charms and spells.¹⁹ For these texts we use "amulet" as an umbrella term, while we use the term "formulary" for recipes for making charms and spells. Accordingly, in this survey we include all texts that were written to convey in and of themselves – as well as in association with incantation and other actions – supernatural power for protective, beneficial, or antagonistic effect, and that appear to have been or were meant to have been worn on one's body or fixed, displayed, or deposited at some place.²⁰ The resulting checklist thus includes texts comprising biblical passages or liturgical material along with (recipes for) explicit charms and spells.

The characteristics used to identify texts included in the checklist can be summarized in two categories: (a) elements that are typically found in charms and spells, and (b) elements that were or were likely to have been Christian. The former include adjurations or petitions, esoteric words (*voces magicae*) or signs (χαρακτῆρες), letters or words arranged in shapes, strings of vowels, short narratives that relate events associated with the divine world to the matter at hand (*historiolae*), and phraseology often found in charms and spells.²¹ The latter include *nomina sacra* (abbreviations of certain names found in Chris-

¹⁸ *Suppl. Mag.* 1, p. ix; Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3492-3493 and 3480 (n. 486).

¹⁹ The term "charm" is used to refer to texts written to convey supernatural power for beneficial or protective effect (e.g. healing, protection from evil spirits, etc.); the term "spell" to refer to texts written to convey supernatural power for antagonistic effect (e.g. *defixiones*).

²⁰ This definition is indebted in part to the analysis of E. von Dobschütz, "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols. (New York 1908-1927) 3:413-430 at 416-421. For additional discussions of the definition of the material under consideration, see e.g. R. Wünsch, "Amuletum," *Glotta* 2 (1910) 219-230; Bonner, *Studies*, 2; R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Written Greek Amulets," in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York 1991) 107-137 at 107-108.

²¹ For an overview of these characteristics, see Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3429-3443.

tian manuscripts);²² crosses, staurograms, or christograms;²³ letters or cryptograms often used in a Christian context (such as α and ω or χμϣ);²⁴ trinitarian, Christological, Mariological, and hagiographical references; acclamations or sequences from the Christian liturgy; quotations and allusions from Christian canonical and apocryphal scriptures; and Christian narratives or *historiolae*.²⁵

²² Studies of the *nomina sacra* have continued unabated since the publication of L. Traube's seminal work, *Nomina Sacra. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907). A.H.R.E. Paap's survey of the evidence, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.: The Sources and Some Deductions* (Leiden 1959), remains fundamental. Most subsequent investigations and interpretations of the evidence are noted in L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids 2006) 95-134. To these one may add S. Charlesworth, "Consensus Standardization in the Systematic Approach to *Nomina Sacra* in Second- and Third-Century Gospel Manuscripts," *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 37-68; M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout 2006) 119-125; A.M. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) 57-78.

²³ On the staurogram and christogram, see K. Aland, "Bemerkungen zum Alter und zur Entstehung des Christogrammes anhand von Beobachtungen bei P66 und P75," in K. Aland (ed.), *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin 1967) 173-179; M. Black, "The Chi-Rho Sign – Christogram and/or Staurogram?" in W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F.F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday* (Grand Rapids 1970) 319-327; M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto: Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV* (Florence 1968) 23-27; L.W. Hurtado, "The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts: The Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus?" in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Text and Their World* (Leiden 2006) 207-226; Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 135-154.

²⁴ The considerable literature on χμϣ is conveniently noted at CPR 24.34.1 comm., to which one may add N. Lewis, "Notationes Legentis," *BASP* 13 (1976) 157-173 at 158-159; S.R. Llewelyn, "The Christian Symbol XMT, an Acrostic or an Iosephism?" in *New Docs.* 8 (1998) no. 14; and B. Nongbri, "The Lord's Prayer and XMT: Two Christian Papyrus Amulets in Yale's Beinecke Library," *HThR* 104 (2011) 59-68 at 64-68 (6). Llewelyn reviews much of the literature.

²⁵ This list of Christian elements refers to aspects of the text prepared by the producer. It does not include putatively Christian names of clients. Although some personal names, such as John and Thekla, are strongly associated with Christian tradition, one must be cautious about inferring that in every instance such a name belonged to a Christian. For texts where the persons named are the only possibly Christian aspect, see, e.g., R. Kotansky, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Muséon* 105 (1992) 5-24 at 21 (John and Benenata); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.14.3 comm. (John); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.43 intro. (Leontia, Eva, and Thekla). These items have been left out of the checklist below. On the use of onomastics to identify Christians, see the debate between R.S. Bagnall and E. Wipszycka, summarised in R.S.

These criteria are not without their limitations. One set of limitations has to do with identifying elements as Christian; the other, with identifying texts as amulets. We begin with the former.

In a context of religious plurality, where producers of amulets and formularies drew on a mixture of Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish traditions,²⁶ and a context of religious transformation, where one form of religious affiliation was interacting with another, it can be problematic to isolate Christian elements. One inevitably excludes texts that occupy the space that was shared by two or more traditions. For example, it is possible that texts that display Jewish elements were produced in a Jewish Christian milieu, but the indeterminacy of the milieu and the ambiguity of the evidence make it difficult to be certain.²⁷ Likewise, some types of amulets, such as Βους-amulets or amulets against scorpion stings,²⁸ evidently derive from a common tradition. Only some of

Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 280-281. See, in addition, G.H.R. Horsley, "Name Change as an Indication of Religious Conversion in Antiquity," *Numen* 34 (1987) 1-17 at 10-13, P. van Minnen, "The Roots of Egyptian Christianity," *Archiv* 40 (1994) 71-85 at 73-74; Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 51-56; J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven 2008) 47, 58-60; Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord*, 40-55.

²⁶ See, in general, Bonner, *Studies*, 22-44, 208-228; H.D. Betz, "Introduction to the Greek Magical Papyri," in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xlv-xlviii; G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge 2008) 247-257 and 277-278; L. LiDonnici, "According to the Jews': Identified (and Identifying) 'Jewish' Elements in the *Greek Magical Papyri*," in L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber (eds.), *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden 2007) 87-108.

²⁷ For the following examples, the assigned date is listed in parenthesis after the item, followed by suggestions as to milieu: PGM XVIIIa (III-IV), cf. U. Wilcken, "Heidnisches und christliches aus Ägypten," *Archiv* 1 (1901) 396-436 at 427 (not possible to ascertain milieu); PGM LXXVII (*PHarr.* 1.55) = D. Jordan, "Two Papyri with Formulae for Divination," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 25-36 at 28-36 (II), cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 1076 (Jewish-Christian influences), C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 83 (Jewish); P. Benoit, "Fragment d'une prière contre les esprits impurs?" *RBi* 58 (1951) 549-565 (I-II), cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 911 (Jewish), Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3492 (Christian), T. Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (Stockholm 2006) 67-68 (undecided), P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin 2008) 125-126 (Jewish); *SEG* 31.1569 (V-VI) (undetermined); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.19 (*P.IFAO* 3.50) (IV-V), cf. Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3481, 3493 (Christian; Jewish elements), *Suppl.Mag.* 1.19 (pagan), de Haro Sanchez, "Catalogue," 50 (pagan).

²⁸ On Βους-amulets see T.J. Kraus, "Βους, Βαιχωνωχ und Septuaginta-Psalm 90? Überlegungen zu den sogenannten 'Bous'-Amuletten und dem beliebtesten Bibeltex

them display Christian elements and are captured by the above criteria.²⁹ But their production and use should not be disassociated from similar texts that lack Christian elements.

These limitations are felt most acutely when the only putatively Christian element in a text is, say, a *nomen sacrum* or a cross.³⁰ Most scholars agree that the use of *nomina sacra* was a Christian scribal practice, if not in its inception, then certainly in its later prevalence.³¹ But κύριος and θεός abbreviated as *nomina sacra* appear in syncretistic magical texts.³² Likewise, the placement of crosses and staurograms before and after texts or at the beginning of lines was a Christian scribal practice.³³ But crosses also appear on amulets that could be Jewish or “pagan.”³⁴

Such problems are not easily resolved. While in many cases one can be reasonably confident about the milieu in which an amulet or formulary was produced, in other cases one is forced to be agnostic. We therefore hold in abeyance the question of the cultural provenance of the material under consideration. The tables below simply include all texts that display Christian elements; when the elements are few or indistinct or uncertain, this is noted. The presence of Christian elements does not necessarily entail that the producer, user, or milieu of the text was Christian; such a determination should be based on a consideration of all aspects of the text.³⁵

für apotropäische Zwecke,” ZAC 11 (2007-2008) 479-491. For amulets against scorpions see PGM XXVIIIa-c, the last of which (15) is preceded by four crosses.

²⁹ Thus only seven of the twelve ΒΟΥC-amulets listed by Kraus are included in Table 1 below: PGM T2a (42+); PGM T2b (43+); REAC 4 (2002) 93-94 (51+); SB 1.3573 (52+); SEG 31.1571 (57+); SEG 47.2153 (58+); ZPE 159 (2007) 249-252 (85+).

³⁰ *Nomen sacrum*: P.Mich. 18.768.5 comm. (47); Suppl.Mag. 2.84.1 intro. (81). Cross: PGM XXVc (108); P.Prag. 2.119 (49); SB 18.13746 (55).

³¹ On the origin of the *nomina sacra*, see Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 95-134. On their later use, see Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 119-125, esp. 124.

³² Cf. PGM 2, index, p. 270, and Suppl.Mag. 2.93.3, where the supralinear stroke is absent. On the vagaries of scribal practice, see Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 120-124.

³³ Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 116-117. In Suppl.Mag. 2, indices, p. 338, crosses and staurograms appear only in items classified as Christian.

³⁴ PGM XXVc (108) (Jewish?); PGM XXVIIIc (15) (pagan?); Suppl.Mag. 1.1 (60) (pagan?). Cf. Choat, *Belief and Cult*, 116-118.

³⁵ The occasional presence of Christian elements in Jewish incantation bowls and amulets produced in Palestine and Babylonia offers an instructive parallel: see e.g. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, no. 56.4, with C. Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine: Peuplement et populations*, 3 vols. (Oxford 1998) 1:220-221 and Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 277 (christogram?); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem 1987) no. A4.8 comm. and p. 22

The second limitation of the criteria mentioned is that there are texts that may have been produced or used as amulets, but that manifest few or none of the elements typically found in charms and spells, as in the case of texts that consist mainly or only of biblical passages. Their classification as amulets may be tentative or disputed.³⁶ It is relatively easy to identify texts incorporating biblical material that were certainly produced or used as amulets. These texts usually include an adjuration or a petition.³⁷ The biblical passages are often ones that are frequently invoked for their protective or beneficial value, such as Ps. 90 LXX or the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13).³⁸ The passages may be quoted in an abbreviated form as a cipher for an entire work, as in the incipits of the gospels or the opening words of verses in a psalm.³⁹ Often several passages are juxtaposed one with another, and sometimes they are quoted in an incomplete or confused manner. Frequently they are also accompanied by doxologies, acclamations, crosses, and other Christian symbols.⁴⁰ And almost always the material on which the text is written was rolled or folded into a format that could be easily worn.⁴¹

More difficult to classify are texts that comprise mainly or only biblical or liturgical material and that lack many of the characteristics summarized

(staurogram); D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London 2003) no. M163.29 comm., with S. Shaked, "Jesus in the Magic Bowls. Apropos Dan Levene's '... and by the Name of Jesus...,'" *JSQ* 6 (1999) 309-319, which also adduces Schøyen Collection MS 2054/124.27 (trinitarian formulae).

³⁶ For a detailed discussion of what follows, see T. de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, Ostraca, and Tablets Written with Biblical Texts in Greek and Used as Amulets: A Preliminary List," in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds.), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (Leiden 2010) 145-189.

³⁷ Adjurations: PGM P17 (36+); *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 (48); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77). Petitions: *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); PGM P5b (21+); PGM P5c (22); PGM P9 (26+); *P.Köln* 8.340 (45); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+).

³⁸ Ps. 90 LXX: *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); PGM P17 (36+); PGM P19 (38+); PGM T2a (42+); PGM T2b (43+); *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 (46); *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (50); *SB* 1.3573 (52+); *SPP* 20.294 (59+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *VChr* 37 (1983) 400-404 (84). The Lord's Prayer: *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); PGM P9 (26+); PGM P17 (36+); PGM P19 (38+); *P.Köln* 4.171 (44); *P.Schøyen* 1.16 (50); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+). Cf. Kraus, "Psalm 90 der Septuaginta in apotropäischer Verwendung"; idem, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer – They Are More Than Simply Witnesses to That Text Itself," in Kraus and Nicklas, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 227-266.

³⁹ Incipits of the gospels: *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); PGM P5b (21+); PGM P5c (22); PGM P9 (26+); PGM P19 (38+); *VChr* 37 (1983) 400-404 (84).

⁴⁰ E.g. *BASP* 41 (2004) 93-113 (1); *BKT* 6.7.1 (4); PGM P19 (38+); *P.Köln* 4.171 (44); *SPP* 20.294 (59+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77).

⁴¹ See de Bruyn, "Papyri," 153, n. 36.

above. One can distinguish between texts that were probably used as amulets and those that were possibly used as amulets. Items that were probably amulets are similar to items that were certainly amulets in the character of their biblical or liturgical text, which has a protective or beneficial value; in the addition of some further element, such as a cross; and in that they often (but not always) appear to have been folded or strung in order to be worn (though there may be other explanations for the presence of folds or holes).⁴² Among the possible uses of the item, that of an amulet is the most likely, even if other uses cannot be ruled out. Items that were possibly amulets lack even these characteristics, thus leaving open the possibility of uses other than or as well as that of an amulet (e.g. an *aide-mémoire*, a writing exercise, a devotional text).⁴³ Evidently, there will still be indeterminate or disputed cases, and scholars may not agree on the purpose or use of an item even after due consideration of its textual, scribal, and material characteristics. The distinction between probable and possible amulets does not dispense with these problems; rather, it is intended to draw attention to them, especially in the case of items we judge to be possibly amulets, where we often note diverging opinions as to the purpose or use of the item.⁴⁴

⁴² For caveats about drawing inferences from folding or fragmentation of papyri and parchments and from holes in tablets, see Bruyn, "Papyri," 154-164.

⁴³ Cf. S. Bucking, "A Sahidic Coptic Manuscript in the Private Collection of Lloyd E. Cotsen (P. Cotsen 1) and the Limits of Papyrological Interpretation," *JCOpts* 8 (2006) 55-78; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 232-254; T.J. Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840 – Amulet or Miniature Codex? Principal and Additional Remarks on Two Terms," in T.J. Kraus (ed.), *Ad fontes. Original Manuscripts and Their Significance for Studying Early Christianity* (Leiden 2007) 47-67, an English translation of T.J. Kraus, "P.Oxy. V 840-Amulett oder Miniaturkodex? Grundsätzliche und ergänzende Anmerkungen zu zwei Termini," *ZAC* 8 (2005) 485-497.

⁴⁴ Several items identified as (possibly) amulets or formularies by van Haelst are not included in the appendix either because they contain no Christian elements or because their identification as an amulet is now doubtful: van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 105 (*P.Rain.Cent.* 24); no. 255 (*P.Mich.* 3.154; cf. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1.1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Fraenkel [Göttingen 2004] 7); no. 275 (*BKT* 8.17; cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 29-31); no. 482 (*P.Yale* 1.3; cf. J.G. Cook, "ⲡ⁵⁰ and the Question of Its Function," in Kraus and Nicklas, *Early Christian Manuscripts*, 115-128; no. 490 (*P.Oxy.* 2.209; cf. A. Luijendijk, "A New Testament Papyrus and Its Documentary Context: An Early Christian Writing Exercise from the Archive of Leonides [*P.Oxy* II 209/210]," *JBL* 129 [2010] 575-596); no. 721 (*PGM* XVIIIa [*BGU* 3.955]; cf. n. 27 above); no. 911 (*RBi* 58, 1951, 549-565; cf. n. 27 above); no. 948 (*Suppl.Mag.* 2.92 [*P.Mil.* 1.20]); no. 968 (*Suppl. Mag.* 1.11 [*P.Princ.* 3.159]); no. 1138 (*P.Giss.Lit.* 5.7); no. 1141 (*P.Giss.Lit.* 5.8).

Patterns in the Evidence

While the transformation of the production and use of amulets in Late Antiquity requires us to recognize the changing repertoire of texts used for protection, healing, or other purposes, and thus to consider biblical or liturgical texts that were probably or possibly amulets, it is still preferable to rely upon texts that were certainly or probably amulets when describing the salient features of these texts and their material form. In the remainder of this article, therefore, we limit our observations on patterns in the evidence to texts that were certainly or probably amulets or formularies and that include Christian elements (Tables 1 and 2).

To start with provenance, the material does not show any noteworthy patterns as compared with the general geographical distribution of papyri for this period.⁴⁵ With regard to the chronological distribution of the material, our findings are consistent with prior observations of Edwin Judge.⁴⁶ Most of the texts have been assigned on paleographical grounds to the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries, with relatively more being assigned to the fifth and/or sixth centuries.⁴⁷ Only a few have been assigned to the third century or earlier, and their date or their religious character is uncertain.⁴⁸ This temporal pattern does not appear to be related to the chronological distribution of Greek papyri from Egypt in Late Antiquity,⁴⁹ but reflects the integration of Christianity in all segments of Egyptian society, the endpoint of a gradual process which becomes most visible in the papyri from the second half of the fifth century onwards.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 6-7.

⁴⁶ E.A. Judge, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri," in E.W. Conrad and E.G. Newing (eds.), *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday, July 28, 1985* (Winona Lake 1987) 339-349, esp. 346.

⁴⁷ Number of items with undisputed assigned dates in Table 1: 1 (III), 12 (IV), 5 (IV-V), 10 (V), 12 (V-VI), 14 (VI), 5 (VI-VII), 3 (VII). Number of items with undisputed assigned dates in Table 2: 2 (III-IV), 2 (IV), 2 (IV-V), 6 (V), 5 (V-VI), 9 (VI), 6 (VI-VII), 4 (VII), 6 (VII-VIII).

⁴⁸ In chronological order, with assigned dates in parentheses: PGM XII.190-192 (12) (II/III; IV); PGM XII.376-396 (13) (II/III; IV); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.1 (60) (III); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.84 (81) (III; III-IV).

⁴⁹ As a crude indicator of the chronological distribution of Greek textual remains in Egypt in Late Antiquity, a search on 12 August 2009 of Greek items in Trismegistos by century yielded the following results (number of items followed by century in parentheses): 7809 (III), 4413 (IV), 1430 (V), 3280 (VI), 3077 (VII), 899 (VIII); or 13798 (III-IV), 5672 (V-VI), 4756 (VII-VIII).

⁵⁰ See Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 278-309, esp. 293 for Egypt in general, and Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 45-122 for this process illustrated within a regional context.

All but two of the texts were written in Greek. The two written in Latin are remarkable, for different reasons. One is certainly an amulet.⁵¹ The papyrus is, regrettably, lost, but a transcription by Karl Preisendanz has survived. The text is a rare witness to spoken Latin in Late Antiquity.⁵² The writer cites verses of Ps. 20 from a north Italian-African psalter in the invocation, and the ensuing adjuration of Christ the *medicus caelestis* (an epithet widely attested in Latin patristic literature) concludes with the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* of the Latin mass. Since the north Italian-African psalter was used at the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, the editors think it more likely that it originated from that milieu than that it was brought from the West by a traveller.⁵³ The other Latin text,⁵⁴ written on the back of a late Byzantine protocol (VI/VII),⁵⁵ presents several lines of the Lord's Prayer in Latin with an interlinear transcription in Greek characters, presumably added to assist someone unfamiliar with Latin pronunciation. Its purpose is less certain; recent discussions regard it as a writing exercise rather than an amulet.⁵⁶

When we turn to the material on which amulets and formularies were written, the most readily available or preferred material throughout this period was, as can be expected, papyrus. Of the texts listed in Table 1, 67 were written on papyrus, 9 on wood, 5 on parchment, 3 on potsherds, 1 on bone, and 1 on silver. Of the texts listed in Table 2, 33 were written on papyrus, 12 on parchment, 3 on potsherds, and 1 on limestone. The use of parchment correlates with the use of biblical passages or prayers as amulets: the texts written on

⁵¹ *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36 (77).

⁵² J. Kramer, "A Linguistic Commentary on Heidelberg's Latin Papyrus Amulet," *ZPE* 74 (1988) 267-272.

⁵³ R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, "From the African Psalter and Liturgy," *ZPE* (1988) 253-265 at 257-259.

⁵⁴ *MPER* N.S. 15.184 (148).

⁵⁵ J. Gascou, "Sur la date du *Pater noster* de Vienne: *PRain. Unterricht* 184," in T. Gagos and R. S. Bagnall (eds.), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas* (Oakville 2001) 19-23.

⁵⁶ Amulet?: Seider, *Pal. Lat.* 2.2 (1981) no. 47; *New Docs.* 3 (1983) 104-105, no. 88. Devotional aid?: A. Martin, "P. Vindob. L. 91, un fragment du *Pater* latin," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 412-418 at 417-418. Writing exercise: *Codd. Lat. Ant.* 10.1533; *MPER* N.S. 15.184 intro.; J. Henner, "Der Unterricht im christlichen Ägypten," in J. Henner, H. Förster, and U. Horak (eds.), *Christliches mit Feder und Faden: Christliches in Texten, Textilien und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten* (Vienna 1999) no. 43; H. Harrauer and C. Gastgeber, "Bibeltexte im Schulunterricht," in H. Froschauer, C. Gastgeber, and H. Harrauer (eds.), *Ein Buch verändert die Welt: Älteste Zeugnisse der Heiligen Schrift aus der Zeit des frühen Christentums in Ägypten* (Vienna 2003) 25-34 at 31; Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 247-248.

parchment in Table 1 consist of biblical passages or prayers,⁵⁷ not traditional charms or spells, and the frequency of parchment relative to papyrus is greater in Table 2, which lists mostly amulets comprising biblical passages, than in Table 1. Potsherds and wood, on the other hand, were used for both traditional charms and spells and for biblical excerpts. However, it is telling that in Table 1, with the exception of a few texts that were meant to be displayed or buried,⁵⁸ potsherds or wood were used for short – and thus portable – texts, such as the Bouc-amulets.⁵⁹ By contrast, the size of potsherds and wooden tablets in Table 3, where the purpose of the items is open to question, is often considerably greater. The format of the wooden tablets is such that they could have been gathered with other tablets into a notebook (they have holes along one side),⁶⁰ though this does not preclude the possibility that they were used or re-used singly for an amuletic purpose.

All of the papyri that were certainly amulets appear to have been written on a single piece or sheet of papyrus.⁶¹ The use or re-use of a small codex – or, more accurately, small codex sheets – as an amulet is associated with biblical passages rather than with traditional charms or spells.⁶² This evidence is consistent with remarks from ecclesiastical writers on the use of small gospels

⁵⁷ BKT 6.7.1 (4) (Ps. 90:1; John 1:1-2; Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 117:6-7; Ps. 17:3; Matt. 4:23); MPER N.S. 17.10 (8) (John 1:5-6); PGM P4 (19) (Matt. 4:23-24); PLeid.Inst. 10 (46) (Ps. 90:1-4, 7-9); PRyl. 3.465 (127+) (extract from the anaphora of St. Mark, followed by a prayer for the dead); SB 18.13602 (54+) (prayer).

⁵⁸ BJ 168 (1968) 107, no. 10 (3) (a house phylactery); PGM O1 (41) (a binding spell).

⁵⁹ Cf. n. 29 above; see also SB 16.12992 (53).

⁶⁰ Aegyptus 60 (1980) 107-109 (134); PBad. 4.60 (157); PBad. 4.65 + PBad. 5.127 (158+); PKellis 1.88 (166+); SB 18.13323 (179+); cf. PGen. 1².6 (9) in Table 1.

⁶¹ This is not the case, however, for formularies, which, given their length, were written on rolls or in codices. By way of example, *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24 (7), a formulary written on two sides of a sheet, may have come from a codex; see W. Brashear and R. Kotansky, "A New Magical Formulary," in Mirecki and Meyer, *Magic and Ritual*, 3-24 at 3. *Suppl. Mag.* 2.96A (83) is written on a roll *transversa charta*; see F. Maltomini, "I papiri greci," SCO 29 (1979) 55-124 at 58.

⁶² Codex sheets or leaves that were part of a codex: MPER N.S. 4.19 (147+); MPER N.S. 17.1 (149); PAnt. 2.54 (156+); PBeatty XIV (159); PBingen 16 (160); PCol. 11.293 (105); PLeid.Inst. 10 (46); PLond.Lit. 239 (170); POxy. 17.2065 (120); POxy. 34.2684 (121+); POxy. 64.4406 (122); POxy. 73.4931 (123); SO 24 (1945) 121-140 (182). Single codex sheets or bifolia that appear not to have been part of a codex: Archiv 18 (1966) 36-37 (89); MPER N.S. 17.10 (8); PGM P21 (39); ZNTW 22 (1923) 153-154 (184). Further discussion by G.H.R. Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex: The Prehistory of MPER n.s. XVII. 10 (P.Vindob. G 29831)," in *Pap. Congr. XXI*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 1:473-481; Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 58 (n. 23); de Bruyn, "Papyri," 159-161; D. Barker, "The Reuse of Christian Texts: P.Macquarie inv. 360 + P.Mil. Vogl.

for apotropaic purposes,⁶³ a practice they preferred to the use of “pagan” phylacteries, which they regarded as diabolic.

From the lists in Table 1 and 2 it would seem that the producers of charms and spells preferred to use new material, as the manuals prescribed.⁶⁴ Occasionally, however, charms and spells were written on material that had been previously used for another document.⁶⁵ This appears also to have happened in the production of amulets comprising biblical passages or prayers.⁶⁶ The use of previously written material in the writing of an isolated biblical text, therefore, does not rule out the possibility that the text was intended to be used as an amulet.⁶⁷

To turn to the purposes of the texts under consideration, in many instances these are identified in the adjuration or petition, or may be otherwise discerned from the text.⁶⁸ Most of the texts in Tables 1 and 2 whose purpose can be determined were meant to protect, deliver, or heal. In addition to charms that offer protection or deliverance (the distinction can blur) from harm and from evil spirits that were believed to work all manner of harm,⁶⁹ there are charms that seek protection against sickness,⁷⁰ scorpions,⁷¹ and poisonous animals,⁷²

inv. 1224 (P⁹¹) and P.Oxy. X 1229 (P²³),” in Kraus and Nicklas, *Early Christian Manuscripts*, 129-143.

⁶³ Isid. Pel., *Epist.* 2.150 (PG 78, col. 604): εὐαγγέλια μικρά; Hier., *Comm. Matt.* 23.5-6 (PL 26, col. 168): *in parvulis evangelii*; cf. Chrys., *Hom. ad pop.* 19.4 (PG 49, col. 196); idem, *Hom. Matt.* 72.2 (PG 58, col. 669); idem, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 43.4 (PG 61, col. 373); Aug., *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 7.12 (PL 35, col. 1443).

⁶⁴ PGM XXXVI.102; T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1921-1924) no. 854.

⁶⁵ BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9 (2); SB 16.12658 (130); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.34 (75); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.62 (80). Cf. C. Gallazzi, “O. Mil. Vogl. Inv. Provv. CE 2: amuleto coi nomi dei Martiri di Sebastia,” *ZPE* 75 (1988) 147-149 at 148-149.

⁶⁶ Certain amulets: PGM P6d (25+); PGM P19 (38+). Probable amulets: *Archiv* 20 (1970) 50 (90); *Biblos* 19 (1970) 72-75 (92); PGM P6c (110); PGM P20 (113+); PGM P22 (114); P.Oxy. 16.1928 (119); P.Oxy. 73.4932 (124).

⁶⁷ Pace H. Förster, “Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten,” *AW* 33 (2002) 321-324 at 321-322; *MPER* N.S. 15.184 intro. (148).

⁶⁸ Cf. Brashear, “Greek Magical Papyri,” 3494-3505.

⁶⁹ Protection: BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9 (2); BKT 6.7.1 (4); *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); PGM 5d (23); PGM P10 (27); PGM P13 (30); PGM P13a (31+); PGM P17 (36+); PGM P23 (40); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.24 (65); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.84 (81); SB 18.13746 (55). Deliverance: PGM IV.1227-64 (10+); PGM IV.3007-86 (11+); PGM P5b (21+); PGM P6d (25+); PGM P9 (26+); SB 18.13602 (54+).

⁷⁰ PGM P5a (20); see also n. 75 below.

⁷¹ PGM XXVIIIc (15); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.89 (82). Cf. also the house phylacteries PGM P2 (16) and PGM P3 (18+).

⁷² PGM P12 (29+).

or that request deliverance from specific evil powers.⁷³ There are also several house phylacteries.⁷⁴ Similarly, in addition to charms for healing from an unspecified illness or from every illness,⁷⁵ there are charms that request healing from fever (a recurring concern in formularies and amulets),⁷⁶ headache,⁷⁷ eye ailments,⁷⁸ and other illnesses.⁷⁹ There is one charm to secure favour in one's affairs.⁸⁰ There are also a few curses or prayers for vengeance,⁸¹ a binding spell that mentions, possibly, a Christian,⁸² and a formulary to induce insomnia that includes Εἰσοῦς among the names of the god invoked.⁸³ But on the whole amatory charms and maleficent spells are rarer in texts with Christian elements than in texts without Christian elements.⁸⁴

The presence of Christian elements in what is evidently a pre-existing genre (as the charms and spells for specific purposes attest) brings us, finally, to some remarks on the relationships between Christian and pre-Christian manifestations of the genre. David Frankfurter has recently called for a renewed but nuanced application of the term "syncretism" to the ways in which Christian prophets, exorcists, healers, and diviners, as local agents of religious transfor-

⁷³ PGM P15a (32) (headless beings); PGM P15b (33) (headless dog).

⁷⁴ BJ 168 (1968) 107, no. 10 (3); PGM P2 (16); PGM P2a (17); PGM P3 (18+); PGM P6a (24).

⁷⁵ Unspecified illness: PGM P18 (37+); P.Oxy. 65.4469 (48); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.20 (61); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.36 (77). Every illness: PGM P4 (19); PGM P5c (22); PGM P9 (26+); P.Köln 8.340 (45); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.30 (71); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.33 (74). The phraseology of many of the latter is influenced by the Christian belief, expressed in Matt. 4:23/9:35 and subsequent confessions, that Jesus healed "every illness and every infirmity" (πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν), on which see T. de Bruyn, "Appeals to Jesus as the One 'Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity' (Matt. 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity," in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 2008) 65-81.

⁷⁶ PGM P5b (21+); P.Mich. 18.768 (47); P.Prag. 2.119 (49); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21 (62); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23 (64); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.25 (66); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.28 (69); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29 (70+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34 (75); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.35 (76).

⁷⁷ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22 (63); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31 (72+).

⁷⁸ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.32 (73).

⁷⁹ Inflamed uvula: *Suppl.Mag.* 1.1 (60) (pagan?).

⁸⁰ PGM P21 (39).

⁸¹ PGM P15c (34); PGM P16 (35+); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.59 (78) (cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 2.60); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.61 (79); *Suppl.Mag.* 2.62 (80).

⁸² PGM O1 (41), with Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111.

⁸³ PGM XII.376-96 (13+).

⁸⁴ Cf. Brashear, "Greek Magical Papyri," 3502-3503.

mation in Late Antique Egypt, adapted existing cultural forms or practices, such as amulets, for new purposes.⁸⁵ Frankfurter characterizes “syncretism” as “the creative, synthetic process by which any idea, symbol, or idiom is appropriated and embraced in a culture”; it can result in idiosyncratic combinations of old and new, “an experimental assemblage, not a fixed and harmonious melding of ideas.”⁸⁶ The material we are considering evidently worked both with and within an existing practice, and thus can be regarded as “syncretistic.” It also displays varying degrees of continuity and change, which is to be expected in the larger context of religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt.⁸⁷ What combinations of old and new, what manifestations of continuity and change, do we find, then, in this material?

One sees, first of all, varying degrees of continuity and change in the form that the invocation takes. Several charms employ a traditional form of incantation whereby evil spirits are adjured (ὀρκίζω) to leave someone or to do something.⁸⁸ Others call upon God or Christ to heal as they once called upon the gods.⁸⁹ Magical signs (χαρακτήρες) are still enjoined to heal.⁹⁰ And charms against scorpions continue to employ traditional invocations.⁹¹ But alongside pre-existing forms of incantation we also find petitions phrased as prayers. A few of these appear to be liturgical in formulation,⁹² others are more informal or personal.⁹³ Occasionally it can be difficult to state categorically that such

⁸⁵ D. Frankfurter, “Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt,” *J ECS* 11 (2003) 339-385, with pp. 378-379, 384 on amulets.

⁸⁶ Frankfurter, “Syncretism,” 344.

⁸⁷ See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 14-23 on religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt as a dynamic process of continuity and change. Cf. Frankfurter, *Religion* and “Syncretism,” e.g. at p. 342, who puts the emphasis more on continuity.

⁸⁸ *PGM* P10 *passim* (27); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.24, frg. A (65); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.29.3-9 (70+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.32.2-3, 5-6 (73); *Suppl. Mag.* 2.89.6-8 (82) (Christian?). On the language of adjuration, and its debt to Jewish exorcistic practices, see R. Kotansky, “Greek Exorcistic Amulets,” in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 243-277; R. Leicht, “Mashbia’ Ani ‘Alekhā: Types and Patterns of Ancient Jewish and Christian Exorcism Formulae,” *JSQ* 13 (2006) 319-343.

⁸⁹ *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.3-4 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22.1-5 (63); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 1.3.3-5.

⁹⁰ *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.6-7 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.21.8-15 (62); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.23.10-17 (64); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 1.19.14-21.

⁹¹ *PGM* P2.3-5 (16); *PGM* P3.1-2 (18+); *PGM* P6a.1-5 (24); cf. *PGM* XXVIIIa-c.

⁹² *PGM* P12 (29+); *PGM* P13 (30); *PGM* P20 (113+); *PGM* P23 (40).

⁹³ *MPER* N.S. 17.10 (8); *PGM* P5c (22); *PGM* P6b (109); *PGM* P6c (110); *PGM* P6d (25+); *PGM* P9 (26+); *PGM* P15b (33); *PGM* P15c (34); *PGM* P16 (35+); *PGM* P18 (37+); *SB* 18.13602 (54+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.26 (67+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31 (72+).

prayers were used as amulets.⁹⁴ In addition to the adaptation of prayers for apotropaic purposes, we see the writing of passages from scripture for protection or healing. As we have already discussed, the application of scripture for apotropaic purposes can be more or less formulaic. Certain passages are cited with an incantation or petition, perpetuating, adapting, and validating, as it were, a pre-existing practice: Ps. 90 LXX, the Lord's Prayer, the incipits of the gospels, the letter from Abgar to Jesus.⁹⁵ But, as with personal prayers, scripture is also cited independently for apotropaic purposes. When it extends beyond the customary repertoire of passages just noted, it introduces some ambiguity as to the intended purpose of the item. The boundary between an apotropaic practice and a devotional practice cannot always be clearly drawn.

In the process of perpetuating and adapting these means to obtain protection, healing, or other advantages, varying degrees of continuity and change can also be observed in elements within these forms. When we look, for example, at the influence of the liturgy of the church, sometimes amulets and formularies incorporate liturgical prayers, litanies, or acclamations in their entirety: prayers and litanies of exorcism,⁹⁶ credal acclamations that may have been used in exorcism,⁹⁷ an excerpt from the anaphora and the prayer for the dead,⁹⁸ a formula of anointing introduced into Eastern baptismal liturgies in

⁹⁴ E.g. *PGM* P6b (109); *PGM* P6c (110). Cf., in Table 3, *P.Col.* 11.294 (162); *P.Oxy.* 3.407 (173+); *SCO* 22 (1973) 27-29 (180+).

⁹⁵ For Ps. 90 LXX, the Lord's Prayer, and the incipits to the gospels, see n. 38 and 39 above. For the letter of Abgar to Jesus incorporating a healing incantation in Coptic, see *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 (48). More often it is the letter of Jesus to Abgar that is cited: see *VChr* 25 (1971) 289-301 (183); *P.Got.* 21 (115+); cf. *P.Ness.* 2.7 (found in Nessana, Palestine). The recitation of the correspondence in amulets is discussed further in T. de Bruyn, "Apocryphal and Canonical Christian Narratives in Greek Papyri Amulets in Late Antiquity," in P. Piovanelli (ed.), *Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges* (Leiden, forthcoming).

⁹⁶ *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24, ll. 1-21a (7); *PGM* P13 (30).

⁹⁷ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23.1-6 (64); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.31.1 (72+); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.35.1-7 (76). Cf. Horsley, in *New Docs.* 3 (1983) no. 93; R. Roca-Puig, *Anàfora de Barcelona i altres pregàries (Missa del segle IV)*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona 1996) 103-111 = R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, 5 vols. (Opladen 1990-2001) 4:64-70; and T. de Bruyn, "Ancient Applied Christology: Appeals to Christ in Greek Amulets in Late Antiquity," in E.M. Leonard and K. Merriman (eds.), *From Logos to Christos: Essays in Christology in Honour of Joanne McWilliam* (Waterloo 2010) 3-18.

⁹⁸ *P.Ryl.* 3.465 (127+).

the latter half of the fourth century.⁹⁹ More often, however, the influence of the Christian liturgy is reflected indirectly in the phrasing of invocations, petitions, doxologies, and acclamations. God is addressed “through Jesus Christ” or “in the name of Jesus Christ” or as “the Father of our Lord (and Saviour) Jesus Christ,” following established patterns of Christian invocation.¹⁰⁰ Petitions incorporate *historiolae* that, like liturgical prayers for the anointing or healing of the sick, recall accounts in the gospels of healings performed by Jesus.¹⁰¹ Doxologies that open or conclude prayers take a coordinate trinitarian form, invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.¹⁰² And the acclamations “Amen,”¹⁰³ “Alleluia,”¹⁰⁴ “Christ,”¹⁰⁵ and the *Sanctus*¹⁰⁶ – attested in liturgical and other settings¹⁰⁷ – appear with some frequency.

At the same time, however, traditional ways of invoking divine power continue to hold their value; the genre perpetuates pre-existing idioms while incorporating new ones. In a few incantations the Christian God and his saints are invoked alongside Graeco-Egyptian and Jewish powers, such as Hor, Iaô

⁹⁹ *PRyl.* 3.471 (128+), on which see T. de Bruyn, “P. Ryl. III.471: A Baptismal Anointing Formula Used As an Amulet,” *JThS* N.S. 57 (2006) 94–109.

¹⁰⁰ “Through” or “in the name of Jesus Christ”: *PGM* P5c.4–5 (22); *PGM* P21.7–8 (39); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20.5–6 (61); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.5–6 (77). “Father of our Lord Jesus Christ”: *MPER* N.S. 17.10.3–5 (8); *PGM* P9.2–3 (26+); *PKöln* 8.340.35–37 (45). Cf. de Bruyn, “Ancient Applied Christology,” 4–5.

¹⁰¹ *PGM* P5b.25–27 (21+); *PGM* P18.6–12 (37+); *SB* 18.13602.1–3 (54+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.30.2–3 (71); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31.2–3 (72+). Cf. de Bruyn, “Apocryphal and Canonical Christian Narratives,” forthcoming.

¹⁰² *PBon.* 1.9.5–7 (104); *PGM* P5d.1–3 (23); *PGM* P19.5–6 (38+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.21.1–2 (62); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.31.4 (72+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.1 (77). Cf. *PGM* P10.41–42 (27); *PGM* P12.3–4 (29+); *PGM* P15a.16–22 (32).

¹⁰³ Three-fold “amen”: *PBon.* 1.9.8 (104); *PGM* P15a.29–31 (32); *PGM* P16.24 (35+); *PKöln* 4.171.8 (44); *PKöln* 8.340, frg. B, l. 1 (45).

¹⁰⁴ *BKT* 6.7.1.23 (4); *MPER* N.S. 4.20, hair, l. 12 (97); *PGM* P10.33 (27); *POxy.* 16.1928.15 (119); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.34.12–13 (75).

¹⁰⁵ *BJ* 168 (1968) 106, no. 9, l. 9 (2); *PGM* P19.1, 6 (38+). Cf. *PGM* 5a.14–15 (20) (ἡ δύναμις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.22.1 (63); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.25.1, 9–10 (66) (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ).

¹⁰⁶ *PGM* P13.7–8 (30); *PGM* P18.2–3 (37+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.25.5–7 (66); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.29.15–17 (70+); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.32.6 (73); *Suppl. Mag.* 1.36.19–21 (77). Cf. T. de Bruyn, “The Use of the Sanctus in Christian Greek Papyrus Amulets,” in F. Young, M. Edwards, and P. Parvis (eds.), *Studia Patristica XL* (Leuven 2006) 15–20.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. A. Stuijver, “Amen,” in *RAC Suppl.* 1 (2001) cols. 310–323 at 319–321; H. Engberding, “Alleluja,” in *RAC* 1 (1950) cols. 293–299; E. Peterson, *Εἰς θεός: epigraphische, formgeschichtliche, und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Göttingen 1926) 152–157, 232–233, 325.

Sabaôth Adonai, and Abrasax.¹⁰⁸ Traditional features of the genre are juxtaposed with Christian ones: the palindrome “Ablanathanalba” in diminishing shape is preceded by the acclamation “One Father, one Son, one Holy Spirit”;¹⁰⁹ a credal acclamation is followed by an appeal to χαρακτήρες;¹¹⁰ an adjuration “in the name of Jesus Christ” appears in the midst of an array of magical elements.¹¹¹ In one charm we have, on either side of the name “Erichthonios” (the mythical king of Athens) in diminishing shape, parallel invocations of Jesus Christ and the white wolf (Horus-Apollo, according to the *editio princeps*) to heal a certain Joseph of his fever.¹¹² Such a mixture of traditional and Christian elements requires that we envisage a situation where the culture of the scribe, with its textual models and ritual reminiscences, is complex,¹¹³ and where the process of religious transformation allows for variability with regards to both continuity and change.

Concluding Remarks

Many of the characteristics we have described above have been noted in the literature in relation to individual items, especially by the most recent generation of editors of this material. Their editions afford detailed and discerning commentary on these texts – and on the questions they pose. Nevertheless, as we hope to have shown with the examples given, a systematic study of the corpus could yield further insights into the religious transformation of Late Antique Egypt. Although space does not allow us to discuss the possibilities in detail, a few lines of inquiry come to mind.

Firstly, a comparative study of the hands in which the texts are written, including a consideration of letter formation, orthography, and use of *nomina sacra*, may yield a greater understanding of the scribes who produced these texts and of their role as agents in the process of religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt. Secondly, a cursory review of the Coptic corpus of amulets and formularies containing Christian elements suggests that the combinations of traditional and Christian elements found there are richer and more

¹⁰⁸ PGM P2.3-4, 9 (16); PGM P5a.15-18 (20); PGM P6a.1-4 (24).

¹⁰⁹ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21 (62).

¹¹⁰ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.23 (64). Cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 1.21.10-2 (62).

¹¹¹ *Suppl.Mag.* 1.20 (61).

¹¹² *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157-161, l. 1 comm. = *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34 (75).

¹¹³ For instances of garbled renderings of Christian litanies and scriptures, evidence of the scribe's illiteracy or unfamiliarity with Christian tradition, see PGM P17 (36+), and *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 3-24, with intro. and ll. 1-12 comm. (7).

diverse than those in the corpus of Greek amulets and formularies containing Christian elements. A comparative study of the two corpora could contribute to a fuller understanding of the linguistic and cultural range of the producers of this material. Thirdly, there is now a greater sensitivity to and knowledge of the diversity of Christian culture in Late Antique Egypt. The material we have reviewed could both benefit from and contribute to this more nuanced perspective.¹¹⁴ Fourthly, the material could contribute to our knowledge of the liturgy of the church at the local level, particularly, for example, rites of exorcism, with which some amulets and formularies are evidently associated.¹¹⁵ Additional lines of inquiry can, no doubt, be proposed. It is hoped that all such investigations will be facilitated by the assembly of information provided in the checklist appended to this article.

Checklist

TM no. = the number of the item in Trismegistos. For dates, V-VI = fifth or sixth century, V/VI = late fifth or early sixth century; while centuries are preferred, Byz. = Byzantine is used when so indicated by the editor. For materials, ostr. = ostrakon, pap. = papyrus, parch. = parchment. For sides of writing, t = the text listed in column 3 (i.e., incantation, prayer, hymn, biblical passage, etc.), ow = other writing (i.e., an unrelated document), b = blank, → = parallel to the fibres, ↓ = perpendicular to the fibres, F = flesh side, H = hair side, cv = concave, cx = convex, 1 = side one (when → ↓ or F H or cv cx are not known or not applicable), 2 = side two (when → ↓ or F H or cv cx are not known or not applicable), *tc* = *transversa charta*. Other abbreviations: chrgram = christogram, strgram = staurogram, sec. use = secondary use of a text written initially for some other purpose, Y = yes, N = no, N/A = not applicable, prob. = probably, poss. = possibly, doubt. = doubtful. Further bibliography on most items can be found in LDAB or TM-Magic, both of which may be accessed through <http://www.trismegistos.org>.

¹¹⁴ For example, we need a more precise assessment of the presence or influence of Gnostic cosmology or ritual in amulets and formularies, since studies in the past have been quick to identify “syncretism” with “Gnosticism” (e.g. B.R. Rees, “Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *JEA* 36, 1950, 86-100 at 88-89, nevertheless offering a valuable overview). Cf. e.g. *P.Mich.* 18.768 intro. (47); L.S.B. MacCoull “P. Cair. Masp. II 67188 Verso 1-5: The *Gnostica* of Dioscorus of Aphrodito,” *Tyche* 2 (1987) 95-97 (cf. 31+).

¹¹⁵ See Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 174-180; Brashear and Kotansky, “New Magical Formulary,” 10-13 (cf. 7); *P.Haun.* 3.51 intro. (cf. 64), *pace New Docs.* 3 (1983) 116, no. 93.

Table 1: *Certain Amulets and Formularies (Nos. 1-85)*

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
1	BASP 41 (2004) 93-113	Ps. 90; Ps. 91 heading; Matt. 6:9-13; doxology	61838	VI/VII
2	BJ 168 (1968) 106, no. 9	protective acclamation	65042	VI
3	BJ 168 (1968) 107, no. 10	protective acclamation (house)	65418	VII-VIII
4	BKT 6.7.1	protective incantation; Ps. 90:1; John 1:1-2; Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 117:6-7; Ps. 17:3; Matt. 4:23	64853	VI; VI-VII ¹¹⁶
5	<i>Comunicazioni Vitelli</i> 6 (2005) 81-85	fragmentary text; house phylactery? ¹¹⁸	69066	IV
6	HThR 104 (2011) 64-68 ¹¹⁹	χμυ appearing four times in a single line	forthcoming	VI
7	<i>Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World</i> (Leiden 2002) 3-24	formulary	68620	IV
8	MPER N.S. 17.10	prayer for protection; John 1:5-6 ¹²¹	61672	VI-VII
9	<i>P.Gen.</i> 1 ² .6	Ps. 90:1-7, 10-13 ¹²³	62158	VI
10	PGM IV.1227-64 = <i>Abrasax</i> 4 (Opladen, 1996) 58-63 ¹²⁴	formulary (exorcism)	64343	IV
11	PGM IV.3007-86 = <i>Abrasax</i> 4 (Opladen, 1996) 29-43 ¹²⁵	formulary (exorcism)	64343	IV

¹¹⁶ F. Krebs, "Altchristliche Texte im Berliner Museum," *NGWG* 4 (1892) 114-120 at 114: VI; *BKT* 6, p. 129: late; D. Limongi, "La diffusione dei Vangeli in Egitto (secc. I-VIII): osservazioni sul *Vangelo secondo Marco*," *AnalPap* (1995) 49-62 at 57: VI (first half); Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 21: VI-VII.

¹¹⁷ Autopsy, de Bruyn, 17 December 2009.

¹¹⁸ Given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it is not possible to determine if it comes from an amulet or a formulary; cf. G. Lembi, "Formulario magico cristiano (?)," *Comunicazioni Vitelli* 6 (2005) 81-85 at 81.

¹¹⁹ We wish to thank Brent Nongbri for providing us with a manuscript of his edition of P.CtYBR inv. 4710 in advance of its publication.

¹²⁰ Brashear and Kotansky, "A New Magical Formulary," 2 state that it is not possible to determine "[w]hether the sheet was originally a single looseleaf, one of several, or part of a complete codex."

¹²¹ Horsley, "Reconstructing a Biblical Codex," argues that the amulet was written on a sheet intended for a codex of the gospel but discarded after a scribal error.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. fragments of a sheet	26.8 x 11.5 (recto)	Y	→ t → t	Y	crosses strgrams
pap. sheet	6-6.5 x 15	Y	→ ow → t	Y	crosses
wood tablet	9 x 5	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross
parch. sheet	8.5 x 13.6 ¹¹⁷	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. fragment	4.3 x 5.8		→ t ↓ ow	Y	
pap. sheet	33.2 x 5.9	Y	→ ow ↓ t	N/A	
pap. codex sheet (1 leaf) ¹²⁰	19 x 24.1		↓ t → t	Y	
parch. codex sheet	6.5 x 4.2	Y ¹²² (holes along fold)	H t F t	Y	
wood tablet with wax coating	17 x 24	N/A (holes along side)	1 ow 2 ow, t	Y	cross strgram
pap. 36 codex leaves	13-9.5 x 30.5-27		→ t ↓ t	N	
pap. 36 codex leaves	13-9.5 x 30.5-27		→ t ↓ t	Y	

¹²² Folded to form two leaves.

¹²³ *P.Gen.* 1².6 comm. suggests that the verses of the psalm were appended to an account for their protective value, and in support of this view notes that on the bottom border of side 1 of the tablet, which bears an account, the invocation κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον, preceded by a staurogram, is etched into the wood.

¹²⁴ The exorcism begins with a Christian invocation written in Coptic; on Ἰησοῦς πικρηστός cf. *PGM* XIII.290 (14) and M.J. Edwards, “Χρηστός in a Magical Papyrus,” *ZPE* 85 (1991) 232-236.

¹²⁵ The only Christian element in this formulary, which contains many Jewish elements, is a reference to “the god of the Hebrews, Jesus” at l. 3019-3020. Many, but not all, scholars think “Jesus” is a later addition; cf. *PGM* XXIIb.18 and see K. Preisendanz, “Zur synkretistischen Magie im römischen Ägypten,” in *Pap. Congr. VIII* (Vienna 1956) 111-125 at 118-119; Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 95, n. 388; Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 4:29-30, 36-37; L. LiDonnici, “According to the Jews”, 87-108 at 96.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
12	PGM XII.190-192 (<i>P.Leid.</i> 2.V) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 2-29 at 12	formulary (for an oracle)	55954	II/III; IV ^{125a}
13	PGM XII.376-396 (<i>P.Leid.</i> 2.V) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 2-29 at 22-24	formulary (to induce insomnia)	55954	IV
14	PGM XIII.288-292 (<i>P.Leid.</i> 2.W) = <i>Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i> (Opladen 1991) 32-81 at 44 ¹²⁹	formulary (release from bonds)	64446	IV
15	PGM XXVIIIc (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 16.2063) ¹³¹	protective incantation (scorpion)	65088	VI
16	PGM P2 (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1060)	protective incantation (house)	64461	VI
17	PGM P2a (AMC 2, p. 440)	protective incantation (house)	65118	?
18	PGM P3 (<i>P.Osl.</i> 1.5), with ZPE 25 (1977) 150-153	protective incantation (house)	64592	IV
19	PGM P4 (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1077)	Matt. 4:23-24 (healing)	61805	VI
20	PGM P5a (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 6.924)	protective incantation (fever)	64394	IV
21	PGM P5b (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1151), with ZPE 145 (2003) 224-226	incantation; John 1:1-3; prayer for healing (fever)	61652	V
22	PGM P5c (<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10696)	prayer for protection and healing; Luke 1:1; Matt. 1:1; John 1:1; cf. Ps. 21:20-23	64858	V-VI
23	PGM P5d (<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 231)	protective incantation	65329	VII
24	PGM P6a (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1152)	protective incantation (house)	64911	V-VI

^{125a} PGM XII intro.: IV; R.W. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: A Photographic Edition of J384 and J395 (=PGM XII and XIII)* (Opladen 1991) x: IV; J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)* (Leiden 2005) 41-44: II-III, probably II/III.

¹²⁶ Cf. n. 128 below.

¹²⁷ Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 8 at l. 138 (another formulary in the same roll); on its interpretation cf. PGM XII.138 apparatus.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. roll	360 x 22-23		→ ow ↓ t	Y ¹²⁶	chrgram ¹²⁷
pap. roll	360 x 22-23		→ ow ↓ t	Y ¹²⁸	
pap. 8 codex sheets	15-15.5 x 26.5 per leaf	Y ¹³⁰	↓ t → t	N	
pap. sheet	5.2 x 7.7		→ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	6.3 x 9.2		1 t 2 b	N/A	cross
pap. sheet	9 x 16	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	16 x 10	Y	1 t 2 b	N	crosses strgram
parch. sheet	11.1 x 6	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	7.6 x 9		1 t 2 Arias	Y	cross
pap. sheet	4.4 x 23.4	Y (cord)	→ t 2 b	Y	crosses strgram?
pap. sheet	26.4 x 6.4		↓ t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. fragment	17.5 x 21.6		→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	6.1 x 4.2		↓ t 2 b	N	

¹²⁸ Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, 22 at l. 377: Θυ.

¹²⁹ The significance of ὁ χρηστός at l. 289 is disputed; cf. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 180, n. 68; Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri*, xxv; Edwards, “Χρηστός”; W. Shandruk, “The Interchange of ι and η in Spelling χρῖστ- in Documentary Papyri,” *BASP* 47 (2010) 205-219 at 207-208, n. 8.

¹³⁰ Folded to form sixteen leaves.

¹³¹ The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm, distinguishing PGM XXVIIIc from PGM XXVIIIa and XXVIIIb, is the presence of four crosses.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
25	PGM P6d (AMC 2, p. 441), with <i>Magica Varia</i> (Brussels 1991) 66-67	prayer for deliver- ance from evil	63045	VI? ¹³²
26	PGM P9 (BGU 3.954), with <i>BL</i> 5:14 = SSCQ 4 (2008) 32-33	prayer for deliverance; Matt. 6:9-13; John 1:1; Matt. 1:1	64990	VI
27	PGM P10 (DAWW 42, 1893, 65-67)	protective incantation	64526	IV; VI ¹³³
28	PGM P11 (DAWW 42, 1893, 68)	incantation	63046	?
29	PGM P12 (DAWW 42, 1893, 68-69) = ZPE 160 (2007) 173 = ZPE 168 (2009) 209-212 (+ P. Vindob. G 29508)	prayer and incantation against poisonous animals	65256	VI; VI- VII; VII or later ¹³⁴
30	PGM P13 (<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10263)	prayer for protection	64558	IV-V
31	PGM P13a (<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> 2.67188.v.1-5), with <i>Tyche</i> 2 (1987) 95-97 and 16 (2001) 82-90	protective incantation	65000	VI
32	PGM P15a (<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> 1.24)	prayer for deliverance	65106	VI
33	PGM P15b (<i>Academy</i> 1128, 1893, 550)	prayer for protection and healing of a woman	64884	V-VI
34	PGM P15c (AMC 2, pp. 440-441)	prayer for vengeance	65123	VI
35	PGM P16 (<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> 1.23), with <i>BL</i> 3:155 and 7:170	prayer for vengeance	64513	IV
36	PGM P17 (<i>P.Iand.</i> 1.6) = <i>P.Giss.Lit.</i> 5.4	protective incanta- tion; Ps. 90:13; Matt. 6:9-13; Luke 11:1-2	64868	V-VI
37	PGM P18 (BSAA 23, 1928, 300-301), with SCO 32 (1982) 239 and ZPE 52 (1982) 246	prayer for healing	64866	V-VI
38	PGM P19 (PSI 6.719), with <i>AnalPap</i> 2 (1990) 27-28	John 1:1; Matt. 1:1; John 1:24; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; Ps. 90:1; Matt. 6:9; doxology	61617	VI

¹³² The *verso* has traces of a protocol or *Stempelschrift* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 23 May 2008). R. Pintaudi, "Per la datazione di PSI VI 719," *AnalPap* 2 (1990) 27-28 at 27 argues for a date of the sixth century or later for PGM P19 (38+) on the basis of a protocol on the *verso*, but cf. H.I. Bell, "The Greek Papyrus Protocol," *JHS* 37 (1917) 56-58 at 56. Byzantine protocols are also found on *MPER* N.S. 15.184.v (cf. 148), with Gascou, "Sur la date"; *P.Oxy.* 16.1928.r (cf. 119), with *BL* 7:142, 8:252, 9:192, 10.145, 11.156 = *SB* 22.15581 (5 October 533); *Suppl.Mag.* 1.22.v (cf. 63). An Arabic protocol is found on *MPER* N.S. 18.4, overwritten with a psalm text.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. fragment of a sheet	10.2 x 2	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y	
pap. fragments of a sheet	unspecified	Y (cord)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	13.4 x 30.5	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	11.7 x 4.8	Y	↓ → t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	23.2 x 13.4	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	cross strgram
pap. sheet	33 x 18.7		1 t 2 b	N	
pap. sheet	28.5 x 49.6		→ ow ↓ t; poem ¹³⁵	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	4-5 x 24		↓ t 2 b	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	unspecified	Y	1 t 2 design	N	crosses
pap. sheet	10.7 x 11.7	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	8.8 x 16	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y	cross strgrams
pap. sheet	30 x 15.5	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	9.5 x 21.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N	cross
pap. sheet cut from a roll	25 x 5.5	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y	cross strgram?

¹³³ K. Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," *DAWW* 42 (1893) 1-96 at 65, and H. Förster, "Alltag und Kirche," in Henner et al., *Christliches mit Feder und Faden*, no. 36: IV; *PGM* P10: VI.

¹³⁴ Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," 69: VI; *PGM* P12, F. Maltomini, "Un 'utero errante' di troppo? *PGM* 12 reconsiderato," *ZPE* 160 (2007) 167-174 at 166: VI-VII; C.E. Römer, "Gebet und Bannzauber des Severus von Antiochia gegen den Biss giftiger Tiere, oder: Maltomini hatte recht," *ZPE* 168 (2009) 209-212 at 209: VII or later.

¹³⁵ The direction of the writing is presumed; the several editions refer only to *recto* and *verso*.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
39	PGM P21 (<i>ArOr</i> 7, 1935, 355-366)	prayer for good fortune	64512	ca. 300; V-VI ¹³⁶
40	PGM P23 (<i>Aegyptus</i> 13, 1933, 225-228)	prayer for protection (at sea?)	63017	?
41	PGM O1 (<i>O.Crum</i> 522) ¹³⁸	binding incantation	64315	after III/ IV; IV; VII ¹³⁹
42	PGM T2a (<i>SB</i> 1.2021), with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 101 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 95, no. 6 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 11	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62288	?
43	PGM T2b (<i>SB</i> 1.970), with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 101 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 96, no. 8 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 12	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62302	?
44	<i>P.Köln</i> 4.171	Matt. 6:12-13	64737	V
45	<i>P.Köln</i> 8.340	John 1:1-11; healing incantation	61663	V-VI
46	<i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 10	Ps. 90:1-4, 7-9	62081	V
47	<i>P.Mich.</i> 18.768	healing incantation (fever)	64466	IV
48	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 65.4469	healing incantation; letter of Abgar to Jesus; Ps. 28:7	58906	V
49	<i>P.Prag.</i> 2.119 ¹⁴¹	healing incantation (fever)	65246	VI-VII
50	<i>P.Schøyen</i> 1.16	Matt. 6:9-13; 2 Cor. 13:13; Ps. 90:1-13	61840	IV-V
51	<i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 93-94 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 8	Bovç-formula	N/A	VII
52	<i>SB</i> 1.3573, with <i>ZPE</i> 50 (1983) 102 = <i>REAC</i> 4 (2002) 96, no. 7 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 483, no. 10	Bovç-formula; Ps. 90:1	62282	VII-IX

¹³⁶ *AMC* 1, p. 191, T. Hopfner, "Ein neuer griechischer Zauberpapyrus," *ArOr* 7 (1935) 355-366 at 355, and *PGM* P21: ca. 300; *P.Kramer* 2 intro. (n. 3): V-VI.

¹³⁷ Folded to form two leaves.

¹³⁸ The formulary, which invokes the Greek god Kronos to restrain a certain Horus, son of Maria, has no definitively Christian elements. Nevertheless, Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111, believes that the immediate milieu of the formulary was Christian, arguing that the combination of Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and possibly Christian elements was

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. sheet	28.3 x 24	Y ¹³⁷	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	7-6.3 x 15.3	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	cross
ostr.	9 x 9	N/A	1 t 2 b	N	
wood tablet	3.5 x 5.5	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	
wood tablet	3 x 3.8	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	
pap. fragment of a sheet	8.5 x 5.5		→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	frg. a: 3.5 x 15.8; frg. b: 3.4 x 5.1	Y	1 ↓ → t 2 ↓ t	Y	crosses strgrams
parch. 2 codex sheets	sheet I: 8 x 5.5; sheet II: 10.3 x 6	Y	1 b 2-4, 7-10 t	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	10 x 7.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y ¹⁴⁰	
pap. sheet	5.3 x 15	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	14.5 x 6.8		↓ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. fragments of a sheet	frg. a: 3.9 x 11.7; frg. b: 7.7 x 13 cm; frg. c: 9 x 9.7	Y	↓ t (tc) 2 b	Y	cross
wood tablet	3.6 x 2.9	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
wood tablet	2.3 x 4.1 x 0.4 (depth)	N/A (handle)	1 t 2 t	N/A	

characteristic of Christianity in Egypt at this time.

¹³⁹ *O.Crum.* 522: VII; *P.Ross.Georg.* 5.3: IV; Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 209, no. 111: no earlier than III/IV.

¹⁴⁰ *P.Mich.* 18.768.4-5 comm. notes evidence of erasure and suggests that the *nomen sacrum* Θῶ replaced an earlier entry θεοῦ.

¹⁴¹ The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is the presence of crosses.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
53	SB 16.12992	acclamation	32605	IV-V
54	SB 18.13602 = <i>Magica Varia</i> (Brussels 1991) 63-70	prayer for deliverance	38750	VII
55	SB 18.13746 ¹⁴²	protective incantation	35154	V
56	SB 26.16677	acclamation	97290	V
57	SEG 31.1571 = REAC 4 (2002) 95, no. 5 = ZAC 11 (2007-2008) 481, no. 6	Bovç-formula	104941	VI-VII
58	SEG 47.2153 = REAC 4 (2002) 97, no. 9 = ZAC 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 7	Bovç-formula	N/A	?
59	SPP 20.294 = <i>Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts</i> (Atlanta 1999) 121-141	Ps. 90:1-2; Rom. 12:1- 2; John 2:1-2	62325	IV; VI-VII ¹⁴³
60	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.1 (<i>P.Laur.</i> 3.58) ¹⁴⁵	healing incantation (inflamed uvula)	60804	III
61	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.20 (<i>BJ</i> 168, 1968, 102-104)	healing incantation	64875	IV/V; V/ VI ¹⁴⁶
62	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.21 (<i>P.Köln</i> 6.257)	healing incantation (fever)	64571	IV/V
63	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.22 (<i>P.Amst.</i> 1.26)	healing incantation	64534	IV-V
64	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.23 (<i>P.Haun.</i> 3.51)	healing incantation (fever)	64740	V
65	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.24 (<i>Studia Florentina Alexandro Ronconi sexagenario oblata</i> [Rome 1970] 281-287)	protective incantation	64726	V
66	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.25 (<i>P.Prag.</i> 1.6)	healing incantation (fever)	64770	V
67	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.26 (<i>SB</i> 14.11494) = <i>BKT</i> 9.206	prayer for healing (eye disease); Ps. 90:1	64703	V
68	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.27 (<i>SB</i> 18.13795)	protective (?) incantation	35155	V
69	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.28 (<i>SB</i> 18.13728)	healing incantation (fever)	69044	V

¹⁴² The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is a cross.

¹⁴³ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 393.

¹⁴⁴ Autopsy, de Bruyn, 11 May 2009.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
wood disk	3.3 diameter	N/A (handle with cord)	1 t 2 t	Y	
parch. sheet	6.4-7.2 x 11.7-9.5		F t H b	Y	crosses strgram
pap. sheet	7.7 x 4.2		→ ↓ t 2 b	N/A	cross
silver lamella	2.2 x 5.3	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	
bone tablet	4.6 x 3	N/A (one hole)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
wood tablet	3.8 x 2.8	N/A (two holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	14.9 x 6	Y	↓ t ¹⁴⁴ 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	7 x 14.1	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A	crosses
pap. sheet	18.5 x 12	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	5 x 12.2	Y	↓ t 2 b	N	crosses
pap. sheet	9.7 x 5.7	Y	→ amulet 2 ow	N	strgrams
pap. sheet	8.5 x 10	Y	→ t 2 b	N	cross
pap. fragments of a sheet	frg. A: 5.7 x 5.6; frg. B: 9.3 x 6.3	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	9.9 x 13		→ t 2 b	Y	strgram
pap. sheet	5.2 x 4.2	Y	↓ t 2 b	N	strgram
pap. sheet	9 x 10.7	Y	→ t 2 b	N	
pap. sheet	9 x 6.3	Y	→ t → ow	Y	

¹⁴⁵ The only element that might be considered Christian in this charm is the presence of three crosses, *pace de Haro Sanchez*, "Catalogue," 55, no. 6039.

¹⁴⁶ D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BJ* 168 (1968) 56-111 at 102: V/VI; *Suppl. Mag.* 1.20: IV/V.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
70	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.29 (<i>P.Princ.</i> 2.107) = <i>New Testament Manuscripts</i> (Leiden 2006) 254-266	healing incantation (fever); Ps. 90:1-2; Matt. 6:9-11	64605	IV-V; V-VI ¹⁴⁷
71	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.30 (<i>P.Coll. Youtie</i> 2.91)	healing incantation	69042	V-VI
72	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.31 (<i>P.Turner</i> 49) = <i>BKT</i> 9.134	prayer for healing (fever)	64846	V-VI
73	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.32 (<i>SB</i> 16.12719)	healing incantation (eye disease)	64870	V-VI
74	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.33 (<i>BJ</i> 168, 1968, 105)	healing acclamation	64874	V-VI
75	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.34 (<i>Philologus</i> 107, 1963, 157-161)	healing incantation (fever)	65318	VI; VII ¹⁴⁸
76	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.35 (<i>P.Batav.</i> 20)	healing incantation (fever)	65047	VI
77	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 1.36 (<i>ZPE</i> 74, 1988, 253-265)	healing incantation; Ps. 15:10; Ps. 20:2-7; John 1:1	63029	V or V/ VI
78	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.59 (<i>P.Ups.</i> 8)	curse	65108	VI
79	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.61 (<i>BIFAO</i> 6, 1908, 61-63)	curse	64397	IV; VI ¹⁴⁹
80	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.62 (<i>SB</i> 14.12184)	curse	35141	V-VI
81	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.84 (<i>P.Yale</i> 2.130) ¹⁵⁰	protective incantation	64257	III; III-IV ¹⁵¹
82	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.89 (<i>O.Ashm.</i> <i>Shelt.</i> 194) ¹⁵²	formulary	69046	IV
83	<i>Suppl.Mag.</i> 2.96A (<i>SCO</i> 29, 1979, 55-124)	formulary	65847	V-VI
84	<i>VChr</i> 37 (1983) 400-404	Matt. 1:1; Mark 1:1; Luke 1:1; John 1:1; Ps. 90 com- plete except for vv. 7c, 8	62319	VI-VII
85	<i>ZPE</i> 159 (2007) 249-252 = <i>ZAC</i> 11 (2007-2008) 482, no. 9	Βους-formula	N/A	VI-VIII

¹⁴⁷ *P.Princ.* II 107: IV-V; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.29: V-VI.

¹⁴⁸ D. Wortmann, "Der weisse Wolf. Ein christliches Fieberamulett der Kölner Papy-russammlung," *Philologus* 107 (1963) 157-161 at 158: VII; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.34: VI.

¹⁴⁹ L. Barry, "Une adjuration chrétienne," *BIFAO* 6 (1908) 61-69 at 61: IV; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.61: VI.

¹⁵⁰ On the few possibly Christian indications in this charm or formulary, see R.W. Daniel, "Some φυλακτήρια," *ZPE* 25 (1977) 144-154 at 144-145, and *Suppl.Mag.* 2.84 intro.

Material and format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram
pap. sheet	13 x 15.5	Y	↓ t 2b	Y	cross
pap. sheet	8 x 13		↓ t 2 b	Y	
pap. fragment of a sheet	30.2 x 3		→ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	17.4 x 5.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y	
pap. sheet	4 x 3.5	Y	↓ t ↓ life-sign	Y	
pap. sheet	5.5 x 6.5	Y	→ ow → t	Y	crosses
pap. sheet	10.7 x 5.5	Y	→ t 2 b	Y	crosses strgrams
pap. sheet	19.1 x 10.2	papyrus lost	1 t 2 b	N/A	cross
pap. sheet	32.5 x 16	Y	→ t → t	N	strgrams
pap. sheet	31 x 8.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	N	crosses
pap. sheet	4.9 x 5.9		→ ow ↓ t	N/A	strgram
pap. fragment of a sheet	7 x 12.8		→ t 2 b	Y	
ostr. fragment	10 x 9	N/A	cv t cx b	N	
pap. roll	14 x 86	N/A	↓ t (tc) 2 b	N	
pap. sheet	7.5 x 12; originally 8.5-9 x 12	? ¹⁵³	↓ t 2 b	Y	
wood tablet	4.2 x 2.6 x 0.3 (depth)	N/A (five holes)	1 t 2 t	N/A	crosses

¹⁵¹ *PYale* 2.130: III; P. Proulx and J. O'Callaghan, "Papiro mágico cristiano (PYale inv. 5)," *StudPap* 13 (1974) 83-88 at 83-84 and *Suppl.Mag.* 1.84: III-IV.

¹⁵² The reference to τοῦ ἀγίου θεοῦ at l. 4 is not decisively Christian; cf. e.g. *PGM* IV.2086-7, XIII.281-2; *Suppl.Mag.* 1.6.2.

¹⁵³ It is possible that the papyrus was rolled; there are vertical indentations and breaks (autopsy, de Bruyn, 11 May 2009).

Table 2: *Probable Amulets* (Nos. 86-133)

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
86	<i>Aegyptus</i> 81 (2001) 37-46	Ps. 30:3-4	69005	IV-V
87	<i>AMC</i> 2, p. 435	litany to the blood of Christ	64787	V
88	<i>AMC</i> 2, pp. 436-437	prayer ¹⁵⁶	63043	?
89	<i>Archiv</i> 18 (1966) 36-37	I Tim. 1:15-16	61904	VII
90	<i>Archiv</i> 20 (1970) 50	Exod. 15:1-2 = Ode 1:1-2	62198	VI-VII
91	<i>ASNP</i> 26 (1957) 176-178	Ps. 1:1-2	62109	V-VI
92	<i>Biblos</i> 19 (1970) 72-75	2 Cor. 10:4; 1 Thess. 5:8; Eph. 6:16	61894	VI
93	<i>BKT</i> 8.12	Ps. 90:1-6	62257	VII- VIII
94	<i>BKT</i> 8.13	Ps. 90:1-7, 10-13	62258	VII- VIII
95	<i>HThR</i> 104 (2011) 59-64 ¹⁶⁵	Matt. 6:9-13	forth- coming	VI-VII

¹⁵⁴ The papyrus was folded from side to side, then top to bottom, then side to side; there are two gaps and several smaller holes (autopsy, de Bruyn, 12 May 2009).

¹⁵⁵ The *editio princeps* overlooked the fact that the text continues on the *verso* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 25 May 2008); a new edition of the papyrus is being prepared.

¹⁵⁶ The text, which is hard to decipher, concludes with a petition to Michael to obtain forgiveness of sins.

¹⁵⁷ There are traces of ink on the *recto* (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

¹⁵⁸ Folded to form two leaves.

¹⁵⁹ From the plate at V. Bartoletti, "Papiri inediti della raccolta Fiorentina," *ASNP* 26 (1957) 176-189 after 176 there appear to be traces of a fold between columns 1 and 2; the fragmentary state of the papyrus could be due to folding.

¹⁶⁰ Bartoletti, "Papiri inediti," 176 does not rule out that all the writing on the papyrus is by the same hand.

¹⁶¹ The two fragments, measuring 16.5 x 19 cm when reunited, show traces of three vertical creases (one at the centre 8 cm from the left edge, one 3.5 cm from the left edge, one 2.5 cm from the right edge) and one horizontal crease 8 cm from the top edge (autopsy, de Bruyn, 21 May 2008). The bottom half of the area bordered by the right vertical

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet	10.1 x 7.1	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	14.8 x 6.2	Y (holes) ¹⁵⁴	→ t ↓ t ¹⁵⁵	Y	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	9.6 x 15	Y	→ ow ¹⁵⁷ ↓ t	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	11.5 x 7.5	Y ¹⁵⁸ (one hole)	1 t 2 b	Y	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	13.3 x 9	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	15 x 14	? ¹⁵⁹	→ t, ow 2 ow ¹⁶⁰	N		prob.
pap. fragments of a sheet	16.5 x 19 (both fragments)	Y ¹⁶¹	1 ow ¹⁶² ↓ t	? ¹⁶³	cross	prob.
parch. fragment of a sheet	13.2 x 5 (originally 33 x 20)		1 t 2 b	Y		prob.
parch. fragments of a sheet	(originally 8 x 32) ¹⁶⁴		1 t 2 b	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	9.1 x 15.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N		prob. ¹⁶⁶

crease and the horizontal crease is missing. Cf. the plate in H. Hunger, "Ergänzungen zu zwei neutestamentlichen Papyrusfragmenten der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 19 (1970) 71-75 at 73, where, however, the image is upside down; the bottom right-hand corner of the photo is in fact the top left-hand corner of the sheet.

¹⁶² H. Hunger, "Zwei unbekannte neutestamentliche Papyrusfragmente der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Biblos* 8 (1959) 7-12 at 11 reports traces of writing on the left edge of the *recto*.

¹⁶³ Hunger, "Ergänzungen," 74-5 reads a κ at l. 5 as a *nomen sacrum* for κ(ύριε), even though a supralinear stroke is absent.

¹⁶⁴ P.Berl. inv. 3642 is 7 x 13; P.Berl. inv. 3639 comprises many fragments.

¹⁶⁵ We wish to thank Brent Nongbri for providing us with a manuscript of his edition of P.CtYBR inv. 4600 in advance of its publication.

¹⁶⁶ Nongbri, "Lord's Prayer and XMI," 62 notes several indications that this papyrus probably served as an amulet. The final line of the text, which breaks off, is enigmatic; cf. *P.Köln* 4.171 (44), which concludes the text of the Lord's Prayer with a doxology and follows it with ἀμήν and ἄγιος, each repeated three times.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
96	MPER N.S. 4.11	Ps. 62:2-3; Ps. 3:5-6	62131	V-VI
97	MPER N.S. 4.20	Ps. 118:155-160; Ps. 3:2-4	62132	V-VI
98	MPER N.S. 4.23	Ps. 2:7; Ps. 109:3; Ps. 86:2; Ps. 86:5; Ps. 64:2	62190	VI
99	MPER N.S. 17.3	Ps. 53	62231	VI-VII
100	MPER N.S. 18.196	Ps. 117:19-20 (Greek); Ps. 118:10-11 (Coptic)	62028	IV
101	Ὁδοὶ διζήσιος: <i>Le vie della ricerca</i> (Florence 1996) 53-55 = ZPE 114 (1996) 56	Ps. 40:3-6	62222	VI; VI-VII ¹⁶⁷
102	<i>P.Amst.</i> 1.22	appeal to saints Cosmas and Damian	65163	VI-VII
103	<i>Papiri letterari greci</i> (Pisa 1978) 149-153	Hab. 3:8-10 = Ode 4	62252	VII
104	<i>P.Bon.</i> 1.9	conclusion of a prayer	64280	III-IV; IV-V ¹⁶⁹
105	<i>P.Col.</i> 11.293	Matt. 6:4-6, 8-12	65860	V
106	<i>P.Genova</i> 1.41 = ZPE 55 (1984) 146-153	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65412	VII-VIII
107	<i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> 4.34 = <i>P.Giss.Lit.</i> 5.5	Ps. 111:1; Ps. 73:2	62007	IV

¹⁶⁷ R. Pintaudi, “Κ(ύριο)ς διαφυλάξαι α[(PVindob G 14289),” in M.S. Funghi (ed.), Ὁδοὶ διζήσιος: *Le vie della ricerca* (Florence 1996) 53-55 at 53: VI; C.E. Römer, “Psalm 40, 3-6 auf einem Wiener Papyrus (P. Vindob. G 14289),” *ZPE* 114 (1996) 56: VI/VII.

¹⁶⁸ In addition to the three horizontal creases mentioned by A. Carlini, “P.Vindob.G. 36114: Septuaginta, Habacuc 3, 8–10,” in A. Carlini et al. (eds.), *Papiri letterari greci* (Pisa 1978) 149-153 at 150, there are vertical creases at intervals of approximately 2 cm (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

¹⁶⁹ A. Vogliano, “Papiri Bolognesi,” *Acme* 1 (1948) 195-231 at 229: III-IV; *P.Bon.* 1.9 intro.: IV-V.

¹⁷⁰ The parchment is wrinkled and has a small hole at the centre (*P.Col.* 11, plate 1). The hole may not have been used to string a cord, but may have been caused by the wrinkling or other damage.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	9 x 8	Y (one hole)	↓ t ↓ t	Y	crosses	prob.
parch. sheet in two leaves	10.5 x 6.5 (sheet)	Y	F t H t	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	4.5 x 9.5	Y	→ t ↓ t	Y	chr-gram	prob.
pap. fragments	11.3 x 7.6 (originally approx. 34 cm wide)		↓ t 2 b	Y		prob.
limestone shard	5.2 x 4	N/A	1 t 2 t	Y	cross	prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	8 x 8.5 (originally four times as wide)		→ t 2 b	Y	strgram	prob.
parch. sheet	7.6 x 5	Y	F t H b	N/A	str-grams	prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	13.8 x 6.7 (originally approx. twice as wide)	Y ¹⁶⁸	↓ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	5 x 6.5		1 t 2 b	N		prob.
parch. fragment of a codex sheet (1 leaf)	7.1 x 6.2	? (one hole) ¹⁷⁰	H t F t	N ¹⁷¹		prob. ¹⁷² (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet	12.5 x 9		→ t ↓ ow	N/A		prob. ¹⁷³
pap. fragment of a roll	10 x 9		→ t 2 b	Y	crosses	prob. ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Cf. *P.Col.* 11.293.9 comm., and P. Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11 in *BASP* 38 (2001) 135-145 at 137.

¹⁷² Cf. *P.Col.* 11.293 intro., and Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11.135-136. It is more plausible that this badly damaged leaf from a parchment codex written with Matt. 6:4-6 (the introduction to the Lord's Prayer) and Matt. 6:8-12 (some verses of the Lord's Prayer) was preserved (and possibly worn) because it contained the Lord's Prayer than that it is a "random fragment of a damaged book, perhaps a deliberately destroyed book" (Mirecki, 136).

¹⁷³ On the probable use as amulets of Greek and/or Coptic lists of the names of the martyrs of Sebaste, and on their linguistic context, see *P.Leid.Inst.* 12 intro (cf. 129+). Cf. also *ZPE* 75 (1988) 147-149 (132), *ZPE* 146 (2004) 164 (133), and the postscript to this article on p. 216.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.5 intro.; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 133.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
108	PGM XXVc (<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10434) ¹⁷⁵	acclamation	65022	VI
109	PGM P6b (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1058)	prayer for help	64603	IV-V
110	PGM P6c (<i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1059)	prayer for favour	64683	V
111	PGM P14 (<i>P.Heid.</i> 1.5)	list of names and their explanations	64300	III-IV
112	PGM P16 (<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> 1.1)	Ps. 49:1-7	62183	VI
113	PGM P20 (<i>BKT</i> 6.7.2) = <i>Aegyptus</i> 37 (1957) 23-27	1 prayer of inclination; 2 prayer for protection	64984	1: VI 2: VII
114	PGM P22 (<i>P.Rein.</i> 2.61) <i>P.Got.</i> 21 = <i>HThR</i> 23	Ps. 140:1-6, 8, 10	62244	VII; VIII ¹⁷⁸
115	(1930) 299-302	letter of Jesus to Abgar	58907	VI-VII
116	<i>P.Grenf.</i> 2.112 (a)	Ps. 1:3	62242	VII
117	<i>P.Köln</i> 8.336	Matt. 6:11-13	65041	VI
118	<i>P.Mich.</i> 15.685	Ps. 106:35	62271	VII- VIII
119	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 16.1928	Ps. 90:1-16; allusion to the four gospels	62124	VI ¹⁸³
120	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 17.2065	Ps. 90:5-10	62125	V-VI
121	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 34.2684, with <i>The Epistle of Jude</i> (Stockholm 2006) 51-72	Jude 4-5, 7-8	61695	III-IV

¹⁷⁵ PGM XXVc describes the amulet, which reads + Ἁγίος κύριος Ζαβαώτ, as Jewish.

¹⁷⁶ Autopsy, de Bruyn, 15 December 2008.

¹⁷⁷ F. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici II," *Aegyptus* 37 (1957) 23-31 at 25-27 identifies *BKT* 6.7.2.r as a excerpt of a personal copy of a liturgical prayer of inclination, on which *BKT* 6.7.2.v, a protective invocation, was later written; the latter alone served as an amulet, in his view.

¹⁷⁸ *P.Rein.* 2.61: VII; Treu, "Christliche Papyri I," *Archiv* 19 (1969) 178: VIII.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. de Bruyn, "Papyri," 155.

¹⁸⁰ *P.Köln* 8.336 intro. observes that the present fragmentary state of the papyrus could be the result of folding.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	6.6 x 5.1		1 t 2 b	N	cross	prob.
pap. sheet	11.9 x 9.2	Y	→ t ↓ ow	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	12.2 x 6.1		→ ow ↓ t	Y		prob.
pap. sheet	frg. a: 10.6 x 13.5; frg. b: 5.5 x 2.9	Y	→ t 2 b	Y		prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	13 x 8.5	Y	↓ t 2 b	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	7.0 x 17.2 ¹⁷⁶	Y	1 prayer 2 t ¹⁷⁷	N		prob.
pap. sheet	12 x 9.2	Y (two holes)	→ ow ↓ t	Y		prob.
pap. fragment of a sheet	16.5 x 8.5		1 t 2 b?	Y		prob.
parch. sheet	5.7 x 7.6	Y	1 t 2 b	Y	crosses	prob. ¹⁷⁹
pap. fragment of a sheet	12 x 4	? ¹⁸⁰	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob. ¹⁸¹
pap. sheet	9.5 x 4 ¹⁸²	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet detached from a roll	30 x 21.5	Y ¹⁸⁴	→ ow ↓ t	Y	strgram	prob. ¹⁸⁵
parch. codex sheet (2 leaves)	5.7 x 4	Y ¹⁸⁶	H t F t	Y		prob.
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	10.6 x 2.9	Y ¹⁸⁷ (two holes)	→ t ↓ t	Y		prob. (poss.?) ¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ Cf. Römer, "Christliche Texte III," *Archiv* 45 (1999) 140, no. 348a

¹⁸² Autopsy, de Bruyn, 2 August 2007.

¹⁸³ Since *P.Oxy.* 16.1928.r is dated 5 October 533 (cf. n. 132 above), the *verso* must be assigned to the sixth century or later, *pace P.Oxy.* 16.1928.

¹⁸⁴ *P.Oxy.* 7.1058 intro. observes that a few words are written on the *verso*, apparently to try a pen; cf. the image at www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 301.

¹⁸⁶ Folded to form two leaves.

¹⁸⁷ Folded to form two leaves.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 64-70.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
122	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 64.4406	Matt. 27:62-64; Matt. 28:2-5	61803	V-VI
123	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 73.4931	Ps. 90:3-8	117811	V
124	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 73.4932	Ps. 72:21-23	117812	V
125	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.461	Ps. 3:4-5, 7-8, 9, 6; Ps. 62:2, 4-5	62162	VI
126	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.462	Ps. 148:9-14; Ps. 149; Ps. 150	62213	VI-VII
127	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.465 = <i>Griechische Ana-phorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien</i> (Opladen 1999) 76-95	excerpt from the anaphora of St. Mark; prayer for the dead	65053/ 65054	VI
128	<i>PRyl.</i> 3.471, with <i>JThS</i> N.S. 57 (2006) 94-109	formula of anointing from the baptismal liturgy	64746	V
129	<i>PSelect.</i> 25 (III) = <i>PLeid.Inst.</i> 12	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65420	VII-VIII
130	<i>SB</i> 16.12658 ¹⁹⁵	incantation (good luck)	32825	Byz.
131	<i>SB</i> 22.15234	fragmentary incantation	64982	VI
132	<i>ZPE</i> 75 (1988) 147-149	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	65450	VII-VIII
133	<i>ZPE</i> 146 (2004) 164	list of the martyrs of Sebaste	68822	Byz.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro.

¹⁹⁰ *PRyl.* 3.461 intro. notes traces of stitching and remains of thread, an indication that the fragments may have been bound to form a roll or an indication that the papyrus was used as a binding sheet.

¹⁹¹ *PRyl.* 3.461 intro. observes that the remains of writing on the hair side are in a later hand.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a codex sheet	3.2 x 5.5 (originally 12 x 22)	(cord)	→ t ↓ t	N/A		prob. (sec. use)
pap. codex sheet (1 leaf)	5.8 x 8.5		→ t ↓ t	N/A		prob. ¹⁸⁹
pap. fragment of a sheet	14.1 x 6 (originally 30 x 6)	Y	→ ow → t	N/A		prob.
parch. fragments of a sheet	various	see note ¹⁹⁰	F t H ow ¹⁹¹	Y		prob. ¹⁹²
parch. sheet	7 x 28		F t H ow ¹⁹³	Y	crosses chr-gram	prob. ¹⁹⁴
parch. sheet	11.9 x 22.6	Y (two holes)	H t F t	Y	crosses	prob.
pap. sheet	14.3 x 8.6	Y	↓ t 2 b	N/A	crosses	prob.
ostr. fragment	12.5 x 6	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		prob.
pap. sheet	5.9 x 15	Y	→ t → ow	N/A		prob.
pap. fragment	3 x 3.3		→ t 2 b	N/A	str-grams	prob.
ostr. fragment	8.5 x 7	N/A	cy ow cx ow; t	N/A	cross	prob. ¹⁹⁶
ostr. fragment	7 x 17.5	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		prob.

¹⁹² Cf. *MPER* N.S. 4.11 (96), which also quotes Ps. 3 and Ps. 62.

¹⁹³ *PRyl.* 3.462 intro. provides no date for the scrawlings on the hair side.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *PRyl.* 3.462 intro., and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 245.

¹⁹⁵ The only Christian element in this charm is χϣϣ in the first line.

¹⁹⁶ See now *P.Leid.Inst.* 12 intro, *pace* Treu, "Christliche Papyri XVI," *Archiv* 37 (1991) 95, no. 826a.

Table 3: *Possible Amulets (Nos. 134-86)*

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
134	<i>Aegyptus</i> 60 (1980) 107-109	Matt. 6:9; invocation	65348	VII
135	<i>Aegyptus</i> 77 (1997) 3-6	Ps. 148:7-8	65856	IV
136	<i>Archiv</i> 21 (1971) 62-65	hymn	64689	V-VI
137	<i>Archiv</i> 53 (2007) 201-203 (<i>O.Crum</i> VC 1 + <i>JNES</i> 5, 1946, 181, 183-184 + Chicago, Haskell Oriental Institute MH 935)	Ps. 30:2-8 in Greek and Coptic	62207	VII-VIII
138	<i>BASP</i> 25 (1988) 149-152	Ps. 120:1-2, 5-7; Ps. 12:2-3, 5-6; Ps. 8:1, 3-4, 7-8	62127	V-VI
139	<i>Biblos</i> 43 (1994) 141-145	Ps. 9:39-10:3	62187	VI-VII
140	<i>BKT</i> 6.6.7	hymn	65170	VI
141	<i>BRL</i> 51 (1968) 138-142	Ps. 19:7-8	61983	III-IV
142	<i>BRL</i> 51 (1968) 142-148	Ps. 50:10-12	65061	VI
143	<i>Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher</i> (Tübingen 1927) 213-228	fragment of an anaphora	64693	V

¹⁹⁷ Cf. A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Frammenti inediti del Vangelo secondo Matteo," *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 96-109 at 107; R. Criatore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 252, no. 322; and Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 248.

¹⁹⁸ The invocation for help on the *verso* strengthens the probability that the board had an amuletic function, *pace* Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 248.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 871, and K. Treu, "Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri," *Archiv* 21 (1971) 57-81 at 62.

²⁰⁰ R.G. Wurga, "A Christian Amulet on Wood," *BASP* 25 (1988) 149-152 at 149 observes that the two holes do not perforate the tablet.

²⁰¹ Cf. Förster, "Heilige Namen in heiligen Texten," 321-324.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, stauro-gram, christo-gram	Amulet?
wood fragment of a tablet	15.5 x 1.8	N/A (three holes) ¹⁹⁷	1 t 2 t	N	strgram	poss. (prob.?) ¹⁹⁸
pap. fragment	4 x 2.9		→ ow ↓ t	Y		poss.
pap. sheet	12 x 32.2	Y	→ hymn 2 b	Y		poss. ¹⁹⁹
ostr. fragments	20 x 23.5	N/A	cx t cv b	Y	crosses	poss.
wood fragment of a tablet	33.5 x 6.5	N/A (two holes) ²⁰⁰	1 t 2 t	Y		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	30.1 x 11.1	Y	↓ ow → t	Y		poss. ²⁰¹
parch. fragment of a sheet	9.7 x 5 ²⁰²		1 t 2 t	N	crosses	poss. (doubt.?) ²⁰³
pap. fragment of a roll or sheet	7 x 4		→ t → ow ²⁰⁴	? ²⁰⁵		poss.
pap. fragment of a roll	9.2 x 13.7	Y ²⁰⁶	↓ t 2 b	Y	crosses	poss.
pap. sheet	29.5 x 20	Y	↓ t (tc) 2 b	N		poss. (sec. use.) ²⁰⁷

²⁰² Autopsy, de Bruyn, 15 December 2008.

²⁰³ Although *BKT* 6.6.7 intro. suggests that this fragment of a hymn probably served as an amulet, it is hard to see why.

²⁰⁴ A single line of cursive writing by a different hand and of a later date; see R.A. Kraft and A. Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri of Theological and Other Interest in the John Rylands Library," *BJRL* 51 (1968) 137-163 at 138-139.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Kraft and Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri," 139-140, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 237.

²⁰⁶ Kraft and Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri," 143 observe that blots on both sides of the papyrus show that it was rolled up or folded from the bottom.

²⁰⁷ K. Gamber, "Teile einer Anaphora auf einem ägyptischen Papyrus-Amulett des 5. Jahrhunderts," *OKS* 34 (1985) 178-182 at 178.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
144	<i>In Memoriam Achillis Bel-trami</i> (Genoa 1954) 236-237 = <i>Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi</i>	Ps. 1:1	62053	IV-V ²⁰⁸
	(Vatican City 1954) 557-578			
145	<i>JNES</i> 5 (1946) 181-182	Ps. 20:1-5	61973	VI-VII
146	<i>JÖByz</i> 14 (1965) 9-10	Ps. 21:19 = Matt. 27:35 = John 19:24	62191	VI
147	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 4.19, with <i>Tyche</i> 8 (1993) 38-39	Ps. 118:122-123, 130-132	62192	VI
148	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 15.184	Matt. 6:11-12	65156	V-VI; VI; VI/ VII ²¹⁰
149	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 17.1	Ps. 1:3-4; Ps. 4:2	62228	VI-VII
150	<i>MPER</i> N.S. 17.4	Ps. 91:13	62285	VIII
151	<i>O.Crum</i> 520 <i>O.Eleph. Wagner</i> 165.r = <i>Tyche</i> 13 (1998) 249-252 =	doxology with alphabet	65328	VII
152	<i>CdÉ</i> 73 (1998) 119-120	Ps. 91:14-16	62101	V-VI
153	<i>O.Leid.</i> 335	fragment of a prayer or hymn	64877	V-VI
154	<i>OMRL</i> 44 (1963) 27-33	Ode 1:1-19 = Exod. 15:1-19	62216	V-VI

²⁰⁸ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 371.

²⁰⁹ The remaining line of text has no obvious amuletic value, but cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 414.

²¹⁰ *Codd. Lat. Ant.* 10.1533: V-VI; Seider, *Pal.Lat.* 2.2 (1981), no. 47: VI; Martin, “*P.Vindob. L.* 91,” 412: (V/)/VI; *MPER* N.S. 15.184: VI; Gascoü, “*Sur la date*,” 23: VI/VII.

²¹¹ Cf. Kraus, “*Manuscripts with the Lord’s Prayer*,” 247-248, and the literature noted there.

²¹² Folded to form two leaves.

²¹³ Cf. H. Harrauer and C. Gastgeber, “*Bibeltexte im Alltag: Schutzamulette*,” in Froschauer, Gastgeber, and Harrauer, *Ein Buch verändert die Welt*, 35-45 at 41.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, stauro-gram, christo-gram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	10.5 x 11.3		→ t 2 b	N/A	strgram	poss.
ostr. fragment	9.7 x 5.7	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		poss.
pap. fragment of a roll	1.5-2 x 9		→ t 2 b	N/A		poss. (doubt.?) ²⁰⁹
parch. fragment of co-dex sheet (1 leaf)	5.3 x 4		H t F t	N		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	17.5 x 7.5		1 ow → t	N/A		poss. (doubt.?) ²¹¹
parch. codex sheet (2 leaves)	7.3 x 5	Y ²¹²	F t H t	Y	cross	poss.
pap. fragment	14.7 x 6		→ ow, t ↓ ow	N/A		poss. ²¹³
ostr.	?	N/A	1 t 2 b	Y	strgram	poss. ²¹⁴
ostr. fragment	8.5 x 7.5	N/A	1 t 2 ow ²¹⁵	Y		poss. ²¹⁶
ostr. fragment	5.4 x 9.3	N/A	1 t 2 b	N/A		poss. ²¹⁷
limestone shard	21.6 x 30.3	N/A	1 t 2 t ²¹⁸	Y	cross	poss.

²¹⁴ Cf. U. Wilcken, "Bibliographische Notizen und Mitteilungen," *Archiv* 2 (1902) 160-180 at 173-174.

²¹⁵ The other writing is of a later date (LDAB, no. 3261).

²¹⁶ Cf. F. Winter, "Zum Psalmenzitat auf O.Eleph. 165," *Tyche* 13 (1998) 249-252 at 251-252, and G. Nachtergaele, "À propos d'un papyrus documentaire et d'un ostracon biblique d'Éléphantine," *CdÉ* 73 (1998) 116-120 at 120.

²¹⁷ The hymnic fragment includes the petitions βοήθησόν με at l. 2 and βοήθησόν με at l. 7.

²¹⁸ The *editio princeps* at 29-30 explains that side 2 was written with Exod. 15:11c-19 by a later copyist.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
155	<i>P.Amh.</i> 1.3 (c)	Gen. 1:1-5 LXX and Aquila	62312	IV
156	<i>P.Ant.</i> 2.4, with <i>Exp-Tim</i> 73 (1961) 54	Matt. 6:10-12	64206	III
157	<i>P.Bad.</i> 4.60	Matt. 6:9-13	65415	VII-VIII; VIII ²²¹
158	<i>P.Bad.</i> 4.65, with <i>BL</i> 2.2:182 + <i>P.Bad.</i> 5.127	prayer; Ps. 135:1-18, 21-26	62265	VII-VIII
159	<i>P.Beatty</i> XIV	Ps. 31:8-11; Ps. 26:1-6, 8-14; Ps. 2:1-8	62000	IV
160	<i>P.Bingen</i> 16	Ps. 43:21-24, 27; Ps. 44:1-2	66747	IV
161	<i>P.Bodl.</i> 1.4	Ps. 90:13-16	62177	V-VI; VI ²²⁵
162	<i>P.Col.</i> 11.294	Ps. 150:3-6; litany	62313	IV; V-VI ²²⁹

²¹⁹ Cf. M. Musurillo, "Early Christian Economy: A Reconsideration of P. Amherst 3 (a) (= Wilcken, Chrest. 126)," *CdE* 61 (1956) 124-134 at 126, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 260.

²²⁰ Folded to form two leaves.

²²¹ *P.Bad.* 4, pp. 48-9: VII-VIII; E. Feucht et al., *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg* (Berlin 1986) 214, no. 647, and Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 250: VIII.

²²² Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer," 250, observes that the reverse side has names supplemented by epithets.

²²³ The board was found in a tomb (*P.Bad.* 4, p. 47), where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, in addition to its probable original use as a school text.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-gram, christo-gram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet cut from a roll	23.5 x 20.9		→ ow ↓ t	Y		poss. (doubt.) ²¹⁹
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	5.2 x 4	Y ²²⁰	pp. 1-3 t p. 4 b	N		poss.
wood tablet	16 x 42	N/A (two holes on the side)	1 t 2 ow ²²²			poss. (sec. use) ²²³
wood tablet	7.7 x 38	N/A (two holes on the side with cord)	1 prayer 2 psalm	Y	cross strgram	poss. (sec. use) ²²⁴
pap. fragments of a codex sheet	frg. 1 approx. 2.5 x 4; frg. 2 approx. 4.5 x 12.5		→ t ↓ t	Y		poss.
parch. codex sheet	11.3 x 7.2 (orig- inally 14 x 13)	Y	F t H t	Y		poss. (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet (?), originally from a roll ²²⁶	9.1 x 14		↓ t 2 b ²²⁷	N/A		poss. (prob.) ²²⁸
pap. fragment	6.5 x 10	Y	→ psalm ↓ litany ²³⁰	Y		poss. ²³¹

²²⁴ As with *P.Bad.* 4.60 (157), the board was found in a tomb, where it may have had a secondary use as an amulet, regardless of its original purpose.

²²⁵ *P.Bodl.* 1.4: VI; Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 280: V-VI.

²²⁶ Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 280.

²²⁷ Römer, "Christliche Texte II," *Archiv* 44 (1998) 130.

²²⁸ The dimensions of the papyrus and the absence of folds seem to preclude the papyrus having been worn, but it may have been displayed for protective purposes.

²²⁹ *P.Col.* 11.294: IV; Römer, "Christliche Texte III," *Archiv* 45 (1999) 144: V-VI.

²³⁰ The papyrus appears to have been saved for the sake of the prayer, which was written later (*P.Col.* 11.294 intro.).

²³¹ Cf. *P.Col.* 11.294 intro. and Mirecki, review of *P.Col.* 11, 138-139.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
163	<i>P.Genova</i> 1.2	Ps. 114:5-8	62112	V-VI
164	<i>PGM</i> O3 (<i>CIG</i> 4.9060)	troparion with trisagion	65457	VII-VIII
165	<i>P.Gron.</i> 22	sayings	64734	V
166	<i>P.Kellis</i> 1.88 = <i>ZPE</i> 119 (1997) 128-131 ²³⁵	prayer for the laying on of hands of the sick	64435	IV
167	<i>P.Köln</i> 4.168	Ps. 16:6-7	62160	VI
168	<i>P.Köln</i> 10.405	Ps. 7:4-10	68809	VI
169	<i>P.Laur.</i> 4.141	Ps. 90:1-6	62075	V
170	<i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 239	hymn to the Nile; Nicene Constantinopolitan creed; Ps. 132:1-3	62209	VI-VII
171	<i>P.Mich.</i> 3.136	Ode 5:9 = Isa. 26:9-10	62270	VII-VIII
172	<i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 591	fragment referring to Peter's mother-in-law	61616	VII

²³² Cf. A Traversa, "Alcuni papiri inediti della collezione genovese," in Traversa, *Serta Eusebiana, Miscellanea philologica* (Genoa 1958) 117-124 at 119-210, and Treu, "Christliche Papyri VI," *Archiv* 26 (1978) 153 with *P.Genova* 1.2 intro.

²³³ Cf. S. Pétridès, "Un trotaire byzantin sur un fragment de poterie égyptienne," *EO* 3 (1900) 361-367 at 367, and L. Koenen, "Ein christlicher Prosahymnus des 4.Jhdt.s (O. Zucker 36)," in E. Boswinkel, B.A. van Groningen and P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David Oblatum Miscellanea Papyrologica (PL. Bat. XVII)* (Leiden 1968) 31-52 at 39.

²³⁴ *P.Gron.* 22 intro. notes several suggestions as to the genre of this text – prayer or amulet (Preisendanz), catechism (Lietzmann) – but a definite determination is not possible.

²³⁵ C.E. Römer, R.W. Daniel, and K.A. Worp, "Das Gebet zur Handauflegung bei Kranken in P. Barc. 155, 19 - 156, 5 und P. Kellis I 88," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 128-131 at 129 discuss the possibility that this Christian prayer was adapted for use by Manichaeans,

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	<i>Nomina sacra</i>	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. fragment of a sheet	12.5 x 8		↓ t 2 ow	Y		poss. (doubt.?) ²³²
ostr.	38 x 18	N/A	1 t 2 b	Y	strgram	poss. (doubt.?) ²³³
pap. fragment	5.5 x 6.5		→ t 2 b	N/A		poss. ²³⁴
wood tablet	9.8 x 23.8	N/A (two holes on the side)	1 t 2 ow	Y		poss. ²³⁶
pap. fragment of a sheet	9 x 4.5	Y	→ t 2 b	N/A		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	9 x 13		↓ t 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	26.7 x 14.3		1 → ow, ↓ t ²³⁷ 2 → date	Y	cross str-grams ²³⁸	poss.
parch. codex (9 leaves)	4.5 x 6.8 per leaf		see note ²³⁹	Y	strgrams	poss.
pap. sheet	11.5 x 9.5	Y ²⁴⁰	→ ow ↓ t	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	not specified		1 t 2 b	N/A		poss.

given the discovery of other Manichaean texts at Kellis.

²³⁶ Römer, Daniel, and Worp, "Gebot," 128, with n. 4, favour the view that the tablet formed part of a liturgical book, though the possibility that it was used as an amulet cannot be ruled out.

²³⁷ The psalm may have been appended to the document by the same hand for its protective or beneficial value; cf. R. Pintaudi, "PL III/501: LXX Ps. 90, 1-6," *ZPE* 35 (1979) 50-54 at 51 with *P.Gen.* 1².6 (9).

²³⁸ One staurogram appears at the beginning of the psalm; the other, at the beginning of the contract. The cross precedes the consular date.

²³⁹ The first and last leaves are written on one side only, forming outer covers; the remaining leaves are written on both sides.

²⁴⁰ There is a vertical break in the fibres down the centre of the papyrus, resulting in lost letters (autopsy, de Bruyn, 2 August 2007).

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
173	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 3.407 = <i>P.Lond.Lit.</i> 230 = <i>Aegyptus</i> 36 (1956) 249-253	prayer	64310	III-IV
174	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 25 = <i>P.Schøyen</i> 1.17	Ps. 117:26-27	62032	IV
175	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 1.3	Ps. 90:5-16	62119	V-VI
176	<i>P.Ryl.</i> 3.470, with <i>Muséon</i> 52 (1939) 229-233 = <i>ZKTh.</i> 74 (1952) 76-82 = <i>Marianum</i> 31 (1969) 327-331 = <i>Biblos</i> 44 (1995) 183-187	prayer to Mary	64320	III; IV; IV-VI, VI-VII, VIII- IX ²⁴⁵
177	<i>PSI</i> 7.759.v, with <i>Biblica</i> 8 (1927) 96 = <i>ZATW</i> 78 (1966) 224, with <i>ZPE</i> 35 (1979) 54	Ps. 90:1-4	64718	V; VI ²⁴⁷
178	<i>SB</i> 16.12535	fragmentary text	34882	V-VI
179	<i>SB</i> 18.13323, with <i>CdÉ</i> 21 (1936) 178-179	Ps. 28:3 (six times); Greek alphabet, Coptic let- ters, Greek vowels	62205	VI-VII

²⁴¹ *AMC* 1, p. 195, and F. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici I," *Aegyptus* 36 (1956) 247-253 at 247 incorrectly measure the height as 4.5 cm; cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.470 with van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 952.

²⁴² Barker, "Reuse," 138-140.

²⁴³ Cf. Pedretti, "Papiri cristiani liturgici I," 251-252 and Barker, "Reuse," 139.

²⁴⁴ *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro. (123) classifies this papyrus as an amulet, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 239 describes it as probably an amulet. If it was an amulet, it was written to be fixed or displayed rather than worn, given the size and the absence of reported traces of folding; cf. *P.Bodl.* 1.4 (161), which *P.Oxy.* 73.4931 intro. does not classify as an amulet.

²⁴⁵ E. Lobel in *P.Ryl.* 3.470 intro. and G. Giamberardini, "Il 'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana," *Marianum* 31 (1969) 324-362 at 348-362: III; C.H. Roberts in *P.Ryl.* 3.470 intro.: IV?; O. Stegmüller, "Sub tuum praesidium: Bemerkungen zur ältesten Überlieferung," *ZKTh* 74 (1952) 76-82 at 78: IV-VI; H. Förster,

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, staurogram, christogram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	15.7 x 14.5 ²⁴¹	Y ²⁴²	→ t ↓ “a prayer” and ow	N		poss. ²⁴³
parch. fragment of a sheet	4.5 x 5		1 t 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment of a sheet	10 x 10.4		1 t 2 b	Y	strgram/ chrgram	poss. (prob.?) ²⁴⁴
pap. fragment of a sheet	9.4 x 18	Y ²⁴⁶	→ t 2 b	N		poss.
pap. fragment	28 x 20.5		1 ow → ow, t	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	5.1-3.5 x 7.7-6.7	? ²⁴⁸	→ t 2 b	N/A	cross	poss. ²⁴⁹
wood tablet with white coating	30 x 12	N/A (two holes, cord)	1 psalm 2 ow	N	cross	poss. (doubt.?) ²⁵⁰

“Zum ältesten Überlieferung der marianischen Antiphon ‘*Sub tuum praesidium*,’” *Biblos* 44 (1995) 183-192 at 186-187: VI-VII; H. Förster, “Die älteste marianische Antiphon ein Fehldatierung? Überlegungen zum ‘ältesten Beleg’ des *Sub tuum praesidium*,” *JCopt-Stud* 7 (2005) 99-109: VII-IX.

²⁴⁶ Förster, “Zum ältesten Überlieferung,” 185.

²⁴⁷ PSI 7.759: V; P. Degni, in G. Cavallo et al. (eds.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Florence 1998) 159, no. 78: VI.

²⁴⁸ The fragment has a vertical crease or break approximately 2 cm from the left edge, and after a further 3 cm breaks off at the right edge; see the plate in J. O’Callaghan, “Papiro mágico cristiano? (PMatr. inv. 5),” *StudPap* 19 (1980) 61-63 after 62.

²⁴⁹ See the cautionary comment of K. Treu reported by O’Callaghan, “Papiro mágico cristiano ?,” 62.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 213, no. 169, and Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 47.

No.	Reference	Context	TM #	Date
180	SCO 22 (1973) 27-29, with <i>Athenaeum</i> 52 (1974) 5 = <i>Papiri letterari greci</i> (Pisa 1978) 141-143, with <i>NewDocs</i> 3 (1983) no. 85	prayer of repentance	65129	VI
181	SEJG 31 (1989-1990) 357-358	Ps. 24:15; Ps. 49:1-2	62134	V/VI
182	SO 24 (1945) 121-140	Matt. 11:25-30; Dan. 3:50-55	61839	IV
183	VChr 25 (1971) 289-301	exchange between Abgar and Jesus	58909	VI-VII
184	ZNTW 22 (1923) 153-154	fragment from an un- known gospel	64970	VI-VII ²⁵⁶
185	ZPE 116 (1997) 61-62	Ps. 80:1-4	62114	V-VI
186	ZPE 116 (1997) 62-63	Ps. 36:25-26	62115	V-VI

²⁵¹ There are traces of writing parallel to the fibres (autopsy, de Bruyn, 19 May 2008).

²⁵² R. Pintaudi, "LXX Ps. 24, 15; 49, 1-2 in un papiro di Vienna (P.Vindob. G. 29435)," SEJG 31 (1989-1990) 357-358 at 358 reports a few traces of writing on the upper vertical fibres of the reverse side.

²⁵³ Except for the first leaf →, which served as a cover, the leaves are written on both sides.

²⁵⁴ It is possible that this bilingual lectionary (Greek and Coptic) may have had secondary use as an amulet, but there is no evidence to exclude other uses; cf. L. Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," SO 24 (1945) 121-147 at 140.

Material and Format	Dimensions (w x h, cm)	Folds (cord, holes, handle)	Sides of writing	Nomina sacra	Cross, stauro-gram, christo-gram	Amulet?
pap. sheet	9.7 x 10.7	Y	→ ow ²⁵¹ ↓ t	N		poss. (sec. use)
pap. fragment of a sheet	13.3 x 19.2		→ t 2 ow ²⁵²	Y		poss.
pap. fragments of a codex (13 leaves)	6.6 x 5.6 (originally) per leaf		see note ²⁵³	Y		poss. (sec. use) ²⁵⁴
pap. fragments	column width originally about 32 cm		→ t ↓ ow	Y		poss. ²⁵⁵
pap. codex sheet (2 leaves)	frg. A 6.5 x 7.5; frg. B 6 x 7.5	(two holes with cord) ²⁵⁷	→ t ↓ t	Y	strgram	poss.
pap. fragments of a sheet	10.7 x 2.4		↓ t (tc) 2 b	Y		poss.
pap. fragment	2.4 x 4	Y	↓ t 2 b	N/A		poss.

²⁵⁵ Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 613, and *P.Oxy.* 65.4469 intro. (48).

²⁵⁶ Cf. D.A. Bertrand, "Papyrus Berlin 11710," in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens 1* (Paris 1997) 429.

²⁵⁷ There are two holes along the right side of fragment A about 2 and 4.5 cm from the top edge; the top hole has remains of a thread (autopsy, de Bruyn, 16 December 2008).

Postscript

Just prior to the publication of this article, Alain Delattre has identified an additional Greek ostrakon with a list of the martyrs of Sebaste, initially published as *O. Eleph. Wagner* 322 (VI?);²⁵⁸ cf. n. 173 above. See Delattre's discussion at p. 365 on the script of these texts (Greek or Coptic) and the probability of them being amulets.

²⁵⁸ A. Delattre, "Noms rares et noms fantômes dans trois ostraca grecs d'Éléphantine," *CdÉ* 85 (2010) 363-373 at 363-366 (no. 1).

The Date of the Dendur Foundation Inscription Reconsidered¹

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Abstract

Reading a day date (27) rather than an indiction number (7) in the Dendur foundation inscription (*FHN* 3.330) removes the basis for dating it more precisely within the period ca. 536-569.

In November 1843, Richard Lepsius, travelling upstream along the Nile, visited the northern Nubian site of Dendur,² ca. 80 km south of Aswan. In the Roman period, when the northern part of Lower Nubia, the so-called Dodekaschoinos, was a buffer zone between Roman Egypt and Meroe, a temple was built in Dendur, dedicated to Isis and two local deities, the brothers Peteisis and Pahor.³ Along with many Egyptian reliefs and inscriptions of Roman date in this temple, Lepsius recorded a Coptic inscription of fourteen lines, incised on the left jamb of the entrance to the pronaos and painted red. He included a tracing of this text in one of the volumes of his *Denkmäler*.⁴ From that moment on the inscription has been a subject of ongoing discussion by students of Christian Nubia. This does not need to be presented here in detail. The text

¹ The present article emanates from my doctoral thesis “Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia,” prepared thanks to a scholarship granted by the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences and defended at the University of Warsaw in June 2010. I would like to express my gratitude to Adam Łajtar, Jacques van der Vliet, and Jitse Dijkstra, who have contributed to the present form of the text. I sincerely thank Dorothea Arnold and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to publish a photograph of the inscription. Special thanks go to Giovanni Ruffini for correcting my English.

² C.R. Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (Berlin 1852) 112.

³ A. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendur* (Cairo 1911) 82-84, and, most recently, G. Zaki, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du III^e siècle avant J.-C. au VII^e siècle après J.-C. d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques des temples ptolémaïques et romains* (Turnhout 2009) 249-251, 290.

⁴ C.R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (Berlin 1849-1859) 12.6: Pl. 103, 39.

commemorates the dedication of a church inside the temple of Dendur and as such is an important witness of the Christianization of Nobadia, one of the three medieval kingdoms of Nubia.⁵ The protagonist of this ceremony is one Abraham, a priest, who claims to have been ordered by King Eirpanome and Joseph, exarch of Talmis, to accomplish this task. Moreover, he has received from Theodore, bishop of Philae, the cross that is to be placed in the newly converted temple.

Much of the scholarly discussion has focused on the date of this event. In fact, the inscription contains a dating formula in line 9, the reading of which has been universally accepted:

COY XOYWTCAWCE NTWBE I(NDIKTIONOC) Z

“... day twenty-seven of (the month of) Tybi, 7th indiction ...”

It was Eugène Revillout who first proposed interpreting the last element of the dating clause as the indiction year.⁶ Later scholars, commenting on the inscription, have unquestioningly followed his suggestion, which has given rise to discussions concerning the precise date of the event.

An indiction date by itself cannot be converted into an annual date. Another criterion is needed: a date according to another chronological system, the mentioning of a precisely dated historical event, or, as in the case of the inscription under discussion, the appearance of a known historical person who can be placed on a time line. Theodore, mentioned in the Dendur foundation inscription, is known to have been the bishop of Philae in the period ca. 525-after 577.⁷ During this period the seventh indiction fell in the years 529, 544, 559, and 574. Two circumstances have helped scholars to exclude the

⁵ Editions: E. Revillout, “Mémoire sur les Blemmyes, à propos d’une inscription copte trouvée à Dendur,” *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 8.2 (1874) 373-382; Blackman (n. 3) 36-37, Pl. CIV, Fig. 2; T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce, and L. Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, Vol. 3: *From the First to the Sixth Century AD* (Bergen 1998) No. 330; S.G. Richter, *Studien zur Christianisierung Nubiens* (Wiesbaden 2002) 164-172. Other publications: U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale* 1 (Cairo 1935) 45, Fig. 34; 4 (Cairo 1957) Pl. 133; J. Krall, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier* (Wien 1898) 19-20, n. 6 (transcript); C. Aldred, “The Temple of Dendur,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36/1 (1978) Fig. 36 on p. 52 (photograph); J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA 2008) 300-302 (translation and commentary).

⁶ Revillout (n. 5) 380-381.

⁷ Dijkstra (n. 5) 285 and 328.

first and last dates. First, King Eirpanome, appearing in the inscription, was apparently a Christian, a fact that places the dedication of the church after the official Christianization of Nobadia, sometime between the years 536 and 548.⁸ Second, in 569 Longinus, the first bishop of Nobadia, finally arrived at his see. After this date Theodore seems to have had no formal authority over Nobadia anymore; it was Longinus who would have been mentioned as responsible for the dedication of the church from 569 on.⁹ Taking these historical events into consideration, scholars were able to establish that the foundation of the church must have taken place on January 22 in either 544 or 559.¹⁰

The discussion about the probability of either date has lasted for over a hundred years. Yet, a study of chronological systems used in Christian Nubia shows that Revillout's interpretation is not unproblematic. In none of the 130 texts from Christian Nubia that contain an indiction date is the word "indiction" abbreviated in the same way as in the Dendur inscription.¹¹ The most popular abbreviations used in Nubia in both Greek and Coptic written sources are: $\text{IN}\Delta'$, $\text{IN}\Delta$, and $\text{IN}\Delta$. Other abbreviations are also attested, but all instances consist of at least two letters. The abbreviation I is therefore at least unusual and finds virtually no parallel in Coptic documentary sources from Egypt.¹² Moreover, such a form does not appear in Michael Avi-Yonah's list of abbreviations in Greek inscriptions either.¹³

These observations cast serious doubts on the correctness of Revillout's reading. Surprisingly enough, a quality photograph of the inscription has never appeared in a scholarly publication.¹⁴ Virtually all editors and commentators

⁸ Dijkstra (n. 5) 296-298.

⁹ Dijkstra (n. 5) 301.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the date, with reference to previous scholarship, see: Dijkstra (n. 5) 300-302. **Dijkstra concludes that both dates are possible but, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, he prefers AD 544.**

¹¹ The data on the indictional system in Nubia have been collected and analysed in my doctoral dissertation.

¹² H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin and New York 2002) s.v., gives two references: CPR 4.110.19 and CPR 4.127.10; the latter is very doubtful because of the presence of a lacuna. Yet another example could be the epitaph SB Kopt. 1.465.14-15, transcribed $\text{MHNOC } \Pi(\Delta)(\text{WN}) | \text{I}\varsigma \text{APX } \text{I}, \text{CEK TH} \dots$; however, on the basis of a photograph (M. Cramer, "Texte zur koptischen Totenklage," *Aegyptus* 19 [1939] pl. VIII), it seems that the text reads $\text{MHNOC}[\text{C } \Pi\Delta]'\text{X}' | \text{I}\varsigma \text{APXHC } \text{EKTHC} [\text{INDIKTIONOC}]$.

¹³ M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C. – A.D. 1100)* (Jerusalem and London 1940).

¹⁴ The only photograph of the inscription that has been accessible so far is the one published by Aldred (n.5) in 1978.

of the inscription based their discussion on Lepsius' or Blackman's tracings,¹⁵ which indeed leave no possibility of correcting the text. However, the photograph following this article confirms that the reading of the dating formula should be corrected and transcribed as follows:

COY XOYOTCAWCE NTWBE KZ

"... day twenty-seven of (the month of) Tybi, 27 ..." ¹⁶

At first sight, one might consider such a reading improbable, as repeating a numeral seems redundant. However, sufficient proof can be given that the repetition of numerals twice in one text (in words and as a number) is a well attested custom in Nubia. Eleven examples (excluding the Dendur inscription) of this practice can be listed:

1. Coptic/Greek epitaph of Marianou, Faras, AD 955¹⁷

l. 2: ΜΗΝΙ ΠΔ[Χ'] ΙΔ

l. 6: ΝC[ΟΥ] ΜΝΤΟΥΔ ΜΠΔ'Χ'

"... in the month of Pachon, (day) 11 ..., on day eleven of (the month of) Pachon ..."

2. Greek epitaph of Eudokia (?), Ghazali¹⁸

ll. 6-7: ἐπὶ ἡ[μέρ]ας Παχ(ών) πέμ[πτης]

l. 14: Παχ'δ'(ν) ε

"... on the fifth day of (the month of) Pachon. ..., Pachon 5"

¹⁵ See above, nn. 4 and 5.

¹⁶ Indeed, the end of the line is obliterated and the *kappa* in the numeral is not as clear as two *kappas* one line above. Traces visible on the photograph are sufficient to transcribe this letter as certain, but were probably too faint to be visible on a squeeze with which Revillout was working. It should be mentioned here that Revillout (n. 5) 380-381, writes about two other possible readings of the last fragment of line 9. He suggests that either the iota could be joined to the preceding name of the month, resulting in the form τωβει, or the two last signs could read k̄z. However, he rejects both alternative readings as less likely.

¹⁷ S. Jakobielski, "Inscriptions chrétiennes," in K. Michałowski, *Faras. Fouilles Polonaises 1961-1962* (Warszawa 1965) No. 6, Fig. 90; idem, *A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions* (Warszawa 1972) 125-127, Fig. 35.

¹⁸ CIG 4.9123; G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907) No. 607; H. Junker, "Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens," *ZÄS* 60 (1925) 120-121, Pl. after p. 112 (= SB 5.8730).

3. Coptic epitaph of Hellene, Qasr Ibrim¹⁹

ll. 6-7: ΠΕ ΣΟΥ ΜΝ|ΤΗ ΜΠΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ

l. 13: ΦΑΡ_Μ(ΟΥ)Θ(Ι) ΙΕ

“...day fifteen of (the month of) Pharmouthi. ... Pharmouthi 15”

4. Coptic epitaph of Athanasia, Qasr Ibrim, 8th-9th century²⁰

ll. 6-7: ΠΕ ΣΟΥ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΧΑΙ|ΔΚ

l. 13: ΧΟΙΑΚ Β

“... day second of (the month of) Choiak. ... Choiak 2”

5. Coptic epitaph of an unknown person, Qasr Ibrim²¹

ll. 1-4: ΜΝΤ|ΩΟΜΝΤ [ΝΕ]|ΠΕΠ ΣΝΟΥΕΙ|ΡΗΝΗ ΔΜΗΝ | ΕΠΕΙΦ|ΙΓ

“[... the thir]teenth of (the month of) Epeiph. In peace. Amen. Epeiph 13”

6. Coptic epitaph of Martha, Sakinya, 8th-10th century²²

ll. 11-12: ΝΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ ΠΑΧΩΝ | : ΚΔ :

“... on day twenty-four (of the month of) Pachon, (day) 24. ...”

7. Greek/Coptic epitaph of Elisabet, Sakinya, 8th-10th century²³

Greek text, l. 6: ΜΝΩΗΡ ΚΔ

“... Mecheir 24”

Coptic text, ll. 9-10: ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΙ|ΕΒΟΤ ΝΜΩΡ . . ΚΔ

“... day twenty-four of the month of Mecheir, [...] 24. ...”

¹⁹ E.S. Meltzer, “The Coptic Texts,” in A.J. Mills, *The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim* (London 1982) 83, No. 3, Pl. XCI, 4. Meltzer mistakenly interprets and translates the first numeral as “seventeen,” and thinks that the discrepancy should be understood as a correction to the date.

²⁰ A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions Published on Behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society* (Warsaw 2010) No. 32.

²¹ U. Monneret de Villard, “Rapporto preliminare dei lavori della missione per lo studio dei monumenti cristiani della Nubia, 1930-1931,” *ASAE* 31 (1931) 10 (second text).

²² U. Monneret de Villard, *Le iscrizioni di cimitero de Sakinya (Nubia)* (Cairo 1933) No. 34; T. Mina, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie* (Cairo 1942) No. 134; S. Pernigotti, “Stele cristiane da Sakinya nel Museo di Torino,” *OA* 14 (1975) No. 19, Pl. XV, 2.

²³ Mina, *Inscriptions* (n. 22) No. 92, Pl. III, 2. Cf. also W. Till, “Die Veröffentlichungen der ‘Société d’Archéologie copte,’” *Or* 17 (1948) 358, who proposed the reading of the date, but mistakenly read the last numeral as ΦΚΔ, and interpreted it as a Diocletian date. The two letters before the final numeral are difficult to read; they may constitute a part of the month name, reading, e.g., ΜΩΗΡ or the like.

8. Coptic epitaph of Theodosia, Qasr Ibrim, 8th-9th century²⁴

ll. 5-6: ΠΕ [COY XOY] TAHTE | NΠAΩONC MΠAXΩN | KΔ

“... [day] twenty-four of (the month of) Pachon, on Pachon 24 ...”

9. Greek epitaph of bishop Stephanos, Faras, AD 926²⁵

ll. 17-18: ἔτη πεντῆκοντα δύο νβ καὶ μείνας ἑπτὰ ζ

“... fifty-two years, 52, and seven months, 7. ...”

10. Greek dipinto on the north wall of the crypt of bishop Georgios, Monastery on Kom H, Old Dongola, 12th century²⁶

ll. 15-16: ὀρκίζω σε σήμερον κατὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁγίων κδ' πρεσβυτέρων (καὶ) τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν κ(αὶ) εἴκο(σι) τεσσάρων κδ'

“... I curse you today by the holy names of the twenty-four Elders and their thrones and the twenty-four, 24 (Elders) ...”

11. Coptic document containing the deed of handing over a slave, Qasr Ibrim, AD 925 or 928²⁷

ll. 2-3: ρΑΙ ΞΝ ΤΜΕΞΩΜΟΥΝ ΝΡΟΜ'Η' Η ΝΖΑΧΑΡΙΔC ΠΡΡΟ

“... in the eighth year, 8, of the king Zacharias ...”

These attestations display two different patterns: one where the repeated numerals are separated by a few lines of text (nos. 1-4) and another in which the numerals are repeated next to each other (nos. 5-11). While the former, occurring only in epitaphs, has been taken to reflect the emphasis put on the date of demise as the most important information for the commemoration of the deceased,²⁸ the latter (to which the Dendur inscription also belongs), attested much more widely, should probably be considered as a simple way to avoid misreadings and misunderstandings.²⁹ Naturally, emphasizing the date

²⁴ Łajtar and van der Vliet (n. 20) No. 34.

²⁵ Jakobielski, “Inscriptions chrétiennes” (n. 17), No. 5, Figs. 45, 88; J. Kubińska, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* (Warszawa 1974) No. 6, Fig. 7; A. Łajtar and A. Twardecki, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie* (Warszawa 2003) No. 107, Pl. CVII.

²⁶ Information and transcript in normalised Greek owed to Adam Łajtar, who, together with Jacques van der Vliet, is preparing the edition of texts from the crypt.

²⁷ Unpublished; the transcript is known thanks to a handout from J. Martin Plumley's lecture in Warsaw in the 1970s.

²⁸ Łajtar and van der Vliet (n. 20) 116.

²⁹ Łajtar and Twardecki (n. 25) No. 40, commentary to ll. 5-6; cf. Łajtar and van der Vliet (n. 20) 132. The phenomenon of repeating the numerals in epigraphic sources is also known from other regions of the Mediterranean; see the list of attestations in A. Łajtar, “*Minima epigraphica* aus dem christlichen Ägypten,” *JJP* 26 (1996) 68-69,

of death and the desire to avoid misreading it are not mutually exclusive. The chronology of examples, ranging from the sixth to the twelfth century, attests to the persistence of this tradition. The apparent chronological gap between the first attestation, the Dendur inscription, and the others results most probably from the simple fact that very few datable written sources have been preserved for the first two centuries of Christianity in Nubia.

All of the evidence presented above makes it clear that the reading of line 9 of the Dendur foundation inscription and the interpretation of its date should be revised. The only date extant on the stone is the twenty-seventh day of the month of Tybi, with the numeral given twice, spelled out and as a number. No chronological indication remains allowing for an absolute dating of the event. The new reading invalidates all previous lines of argumentation supporting one date or another. The issue is now thrown open, with no means to pinpoint the event to any specific year. In sum, in light of the mentioned circumstantial evidence the Dendur foundation inscription can still be dated to the years between *ca.* 536 and 569, a crucial period in the Christianization of Lower Nubia. Contrary to what has been believed for over a century, however, the inscription itself cannot be used to date the conversion of the Dendur temple more precisely.

which can be supplemented with two Coptic examples from Egypt: epitaph *SB Kopt.* 1.749.12-13, reading $\overline{\text{N}}\Delta\text{IKT}\text{IONOC} \mid \text{THC} \{\text{n}\}\text{ECTHC} : \text{C}$; and dedicatory inscription *SB Kopt* 3.1584.9-10.



The Dendur Foundation Inscription (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Notes on Papyri

BGU 4.1081

With the correction in *BL* 1:95 the opening of this second/third-century letter (lines 2-3) reads as follows: εὐκαιρίαν εὐρών τοῦ πρὸς σὲ ἐρχομένου ἐχάρην, ἵνα σὲ ἀσπάζομαι (for ἀσπάζωμαι). H. Ljungvik, in his *Apostelgeschichten*¹ (never excerpted for the *BL*) thinks (p. 25) that the neuter participle could have been written instead of the expected infinitive (cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.18, where a feminine participle seems to have been used in that way). This would mean that the writer had the opportunity of going to the addressee himself. But why did he then proceed to write the letter? The solution is simple: the participle is correct and refers to the (anonymous) letter carrier (the *ed.princ.* had read a proper name Εὐκαίρου instead of εὐκαιρίαν, but this left the genitive unexplained). The (anonymous) letter carrier in the genitive following εὐκαιρία is common in letters of the later Roman period (starting with *P.Oxy.* 1.123, a letter of the third-fourth century; cf. now *P.Gen.* 4.169.1-2n.). *BGU* 4.1081 seems to provide the earliest example.

We can now translate the opening of the letter as follows: “When I found that someone who was going in your direction was available, I was glad that I could greet you.” The performative verb ἀσπάζομαι does not surprise in this context.

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¹ H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (diss. Uppsala, 1926).

P.Par. 21bis

For this contract of AD 592 the HGV notes an “unklare Angabe des Standards für den Preis.” In lines 20-21 the reading (with the correction in *BL* 1:340) is as follows: χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δεσποτικά ἀπλᾶ δόκιμα τρεῖς ἑκατὸν παρὰ κερά[τιον] μία (read ἕν) σταθμῶ το (read τῶ) Φυλλωφ(). I have no suggestion for the last word, but at the end of line 20, the plate shows ἕκαστον, not ἑκατόν: “each (*solidus*) minus one carat.”

A few lines down (lines 26-27) the following phrase (even with the corrections in *BL* 1:340) is rather puzzling: καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀναλώματα καὶ τὰ δαπανήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα εἰς τε βελτίοσιν τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομῆς καὶ εἰς τί[κην] (read δίκην) εἰ[ς] συμβαίῃ γενηθέν, ἀφ’ ὁμοίων ἐν διπλῶ ἀποκαταστήσιν σοι. The plate allows us to change the text from γενηθέν, ἀφ’ ὁμοίων to γεινηθῆναι (for γενηθῆναι), ὁμοίως (corrected from ομοίων). In the preceding phrase the seller had promised to return twice the selling price in case the ownership is disputed. In the phrase under scrutiny, the seller additionally promises “to pay likewise twice” (ὁμοίως ἐν διπλῶ ἀποκαταστήσιν) the expenses incurred by the buyer for home improvements made in the mean time and for going to court – if it would ever get to this (εἰ συμβαίῃ γενηθῆναι, lit. “if it so happens that it [the lawsuit] happens”). This conforms to the parallel formulae in *P.Par.* 21.51 (*BL* 1:339, reading γενεθῆναι [for γενηθῆναι]) and *P.Par.*, p. 257, l. 16 (*BL* 1:341, leaving out τις and reading the traces as εἰ συμβαίῃ [γ]εινηθῆναι [for γενηθῆναι]).

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SPP 1, p. 1, text 1

In lines 12-16 of this Ptolemaic petition the edition reads:

- 12 ὁ [προ]γεγραμ-
 μένος Πλά[τ]ων βοᾷ χρώ-
 μενος οὐχ οἷς ἐστὶν προσδέ-
 ξασθαι τῶν ἐπτά μετρητῶ[ν]
 16 [τῇ]ν τιμὴν εἰς τοῦτο

I suppose βοᾷ in line 13 could mean that Plato is a bully, but one rather expects βίᾳ, which is normal in connection with the verb χράομαι. A photo kindly put at my disposal by Hermann Harrauer confirms this: the *iota* is slightly thicker in the middle, which may have led the editor to read an *omicron* instead.

In the next line οἷς does not make sense. The reading is, however, correct. I suppose οἷς stands for οἷός <τε>. The *omicron* often drops out in -ιος endings,² and οἷός τε can occur without τε, as in two other Ptolemaic petitions: *P.Ent.* 48.7 and 61.5.

Lines 12-16 can now be translated as follows: “The aforementioned Plato outrageously (βίᾳ χρώμενος) refuses (lit. “does not intend”) to accept a cash payment for the seven *metretai* for that purpose (or “in exchange”? εἰς τοῦτο also occurs in final position in line 5).” Apparently Plato insists on the payment of the seven *metretai* in kind, which the petitioner finds unreasonable (lit. an “abuse”).

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² See the classic statement by D.J. Georgacas, “On the Nominal Endings -ιος, -ις, -ις, in Later Greek,” *CPh* 43 (1948) 243-260.

O.Edfou Copt. 91 *Revised*

The edition presents a Greek text of 11 lines, written on a rectangular piece of pottery:

- 1 †
- 2 Δέδωκεν
- 3 Εὐδοξία Κοῦρ
- 4 ... ἱ ἀπ(ὸ) δημ(οσίου)
- 5 τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
- 6 χρυσοῦ νόμισμα α ...
- 7 τούτου λογίζομαι
- 8 ἐπ λογ(ου) γινομενον
- 9 nom propre
- 10 ... θεωδωρου
- 11 (στοιχεῖ)

Consultation of the plate shows that the text should be read and translated as follows:

- 1 †
- 2 Δέδωκεν
- 3 Εὐδοξία κουρ(ευτρία?)
- 4 μωῖ ἀπ\ὸ/ δημ(οσίων)
- 5 τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
- 6 χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α ζ(υγῶ) Ἀπόλ(ωνος)·
- 7 τοῦτο{υ} λογιζομαί
- 8 σοι λόγ(ου) γινομένου
- 9 εἰς τὴν ἐξιτίωνα
- 10 δ(ιὰ) Διονυσωδώρου (l. Διονυσοδώρου)
- 11 διπ(λοκαρίου?).

“Eudoxia, the young (?) hairdresser (?), has given from the public taxes of the third indiction one *solidus* of gold, by the standard of Apol(linopolis); I will reckon this to you for the account being created for the *exitio* through Dionysodoros, *dup(licarius)* (?).”

2 There is no cogent reason to regard κουρ as a personal name and capitalize it. At this point a profession can be given and there is nothing unexpected about the profession of Eudoxia being that of a hairdresser. LSJ lists the term κουρευτρία as the feminine counterpart of κουρεύς = “barber, hair-cutter.”

4 μωῖ is probably to be taken as Coptic ⲙⲱⲓ = “new, young.” As there is no abbreviation mark visible, it is unlikely that we are dealing with the name Μωι(σῆς) (cf. the reading in *O.Edfou* 3.481.2).

6 The standard of Apollinopolis Magna is already known from a number of texts; see *O.Edfou* 1.217, 226, 2.318; *P.Bodl.* 1.45; *P.Edfou* 1.2.4, 3.1, 4.9; *SB* 1.5112.41, 5114.21, 6.8986.15, 19, 8988.89.

8 λόγ(ου): most probably we should connect this with a tacitly omitted preposition such as <ὕπερ> λόγ(ου). A similar wording occurs in *O.Edfou* 2.321.6 (where one should now resolve at least γινομέ(νου), instead of γινόμε(να); the original ostrakon [present location unknown to me] should be checked for l. 6, where λογίζονται may have to be read as λογιζομαι and αὐτά as ἀπό).

9 Lat. *exitio* = “the action of going out, escaping”; to date, the term (for which see *TLL* 5.2:1527.23-25) appears to occur in only one papyrus, *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67057.7 (with *BL* 9:41): εἰς [λ](όγον) τῆς ἐξιτίωνος ν(ομίματα) /αἷ[ϝ]ε κ(εράτια) ἱθ δ´. Preisigke *WB* 1, s.v. ἐξιτίων, reports that the papyrus records military expenses, while the meaning of the term itself is unclear. I think it conceivable that an amount of 1995 *solidi*, 19.25 *keratia* was recorded there for an account connected with soldiers (number unspecified) who left the army after completing their years of military service. Unfortunately, it is not quite clear what exactly is meant by *exitio* within the context of the Edfou ostrakon, but there was a local military garrison in Edfu, and an interpretation similar to that of the Maspero papyrus is perhaps also applicable to this text.

11 διπ() probably indicates a function vel sim.; there are several options for expanding the abbreviation in διπ(), but the most likely qualification of a person seems that of a διπλοκάριος = Lat. *uplicarius*, i.e. a soldier receiving double pay.

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K.A. Worp

PS1: through the editor of the *BASP* I received word from Jean-Luc Fournet (Paris) that the correct reading of the text had been given more than 20 years ago in an article by Jean Gasco, “La table budgétaire d’Antaeopolis,” in *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin* 1 (Paris 1989) 296, n. 79 = *Fiscalité et société en Egypte byzantine* (Paris 2008) 332, n. 92, in which he also discusses the term *exitio* (without reaching a definitive interpretation).

Dr. Fournet informs me that in l. 3 the suggested reading κουρ(ευτρία?) seems unlikely to him; he questions the bar supposed by me to have been drawn diagonally through the vertical hasta of the *rho* (after all, the plate may

be deceptive). For a proper name Kouρ, he compares the name Πκουρ in *P.Cair. Masp.* 2.67138.r.i.2 (cf. also M. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, available at http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf). In l. 4, μωι may also be taken as a variant of Coptic ΜΟΥι “new” but also “lion” and used as a personal name (cf. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 160b; M. Hasitzka, *op.cit.*, s.n.). One should therefore reckon with an alternative interpretation “Eudoxia, daughter of Kour, son of Moui.”

In l. 8, Dr. Fournet prefers a reading σορ (sō ostr.) translating “for your account etc.” I am not certain, however, that Greek word order allows for such a reading.

In l. 11 Dr. Fournet reads alternatively Διος, in which case one would be dealing with Dionysodoros son of Dios (l. Δίου), unless the nominative Διος is in fact to be taken as the name of a second person (= the subject of λογίζομαι?). As more often, it remains to be seen which of the two readings is correct (and again, the plate may be deceptive). Against the second alternative it may be argued that normal Greek word order does not favor this approach.

PS2: in the meantime I received through the kindness of the BASP editor a copy of the re-edition of *O.Edfou Copt.* 91 by Jean Gasco in the *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson* (Paris 2010; = *T&MByz* 16) 367-369. I copy his text, highlighting reading variations between the two versions by the use of bold type, as follows:

Worp

- 2 Δέδωκεν
 3 Εὐδοξία **κουρ**(ευτρία?)
 4 **μωῖ** ἀπὸ δημ(οσίων)
 5 τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
 6 χρ(υσοῦ) **νο**(μισμάτιον) α
 ζ(υγῶ) Ἀπόλ(ωνος).
 7 τοῦτο{υ} λογίζομαί
 8 σοι λόγ(ου) **γ**ινομένου
 9 εἰς τὴν ἐξιτίωνα
 10 δ(ιὰ) Διονυσωδώρου
 11 **διτ**(λοκαρίου?).
 10 l. Διονυσωδώρου

Gasco

- Δέδωκεν
 Εὐδοξία **Κουρ-**
μωῖ ἀπὸ δημ(οσίου)
 τρίτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος)
 χρ(υσοῦ) **νό**(μισμα) α
 ζ(υγῶ) Ἀπόλ(ωνος).
 τοῦτου λογίζομαί
 σοι λόγ(ου) **γ**ιγνόμενο[υ]
 εἰς τὴν ἐξιτιῶνα
 δ(ιὰ) Διονυσωδώρου
Διος.

One sees at a glance that our readings show few important variations; a discussion of some of these is in order.

In ll. 2-3, I am reluctant to reckon with a single name Κουρμωῖ, as this is completely unattested to date.

A search in the DDBDP for ἀπὸ δημοσίου written out in full (cf. l. 4) after 400 CE produces only one attestation (SB 20.14534.14; Arsin., 6th cent.) in a completely different context, whereas the written out plural δημοσίων is attested in similar contexts in various other texts from (mostly Southern) Egypt, i.e. from the Hermopolite (BGU 12.2196.2; *PLond.* 3.1083.2, 5.1741.2, 1743.2; SB 20.14169.2) and the Antaiopolite (*PFlor.* 3.298.48; *PLond.* 4.1439.16); two texts, *P.Bodl.* 1.26.1 and SB 1.5948.1, lack a precise provenance but may come from the same part of Egypt.

In l. 6, there is little to be said in favor of preferring νο(μισμάτιον) to νό(μισμα), or ν.ν., as both forms, written out in full, are found in texts from Edfu (cf. SB 1.5112.41 with 18.13971.4).

In l. 8 I think that the reading of the 2nd *gamma* is not necessary, while it may be that my impression of seeing on the photo traces of a final *upsilon* is in fact wrong.

In l. 11, I have expressed above my reservations about reading Δῖος, who is taken by Gascou as the author of the receipt rather than as the father of Dionysodoros.

As far as the interpretation of the term *exitio* (l. 9) is concerned, Gascou discusses a possible connection of the term with the departure of the army unit of the *Numidae Iustiniani* (based in Hermopolis) from Egypt, while he admits that a link with that event is far from certain. Furthermore, he has found another attestation in *PEirene* 3.15.5, but its context is far from clear.

Finally, Gascou takes λόγ(ου) γιγνομένο[υ] as a genitive absolute, “when the account is made up” (for this he refers to *O.Edfou* 3.477.5 and 478.3) rather than as depending from an omitted preposition ὑπέρ. Indeed, Gascou’s approach may seem slightly more attractive, as it never feels comfortable to reckon with omitted prepositions (for the omission, however, of prepositions like ὑπέρ and ἀπό in our documentary sources numerous parallels may be adduced).

Byzantine Egypt Revisited

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Review article of Jean Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*. Bilans de recherche 4. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008. 494 pages and 40 plates. ISBN 978-2-916716-15-2.

This volume of articles by Gascou (in what follows referred to as G.) brings together a significant part of his scholarly work on Late Antiquity, mostly editions, re-editions, and textual criticism. The idea for the book came from C. Zuckerman, who chose the articles according to their relevance for the themes indicated by the title: the taxation system and the social institutions and agrarian structures of Byzantine Egypt. The articles represent the main results of G.'s research. On the one hand, he has consistently attacked the theory of a feudal Byzantine society, according to which the big landowners were destroying the state; on the other hand, he has shown that the Arab administration of Egypt was not just a continuation of the Byzantine state (cf. "Avantpropos," pp. 7-8). The book was put together by the author's wife, Denyse Vaillancourt, who unfortunately died a short time later.

The volume is important for all those interested in Late Antiquity. Bringing such fundamental contributions together makes their consultation easier, especially for those who do not have access to well-equipped libraries. It also makes an original scholarly contribution, as the articles are enriched with updates marked by square brackets. G. revises some of his own opinions, mentions new editions of papyri, new literature, and corrections to papyri in the *BL*, adds further observations about specific issues or texts, and corrects typos. The original page numbers are indicated in the left margin.

The book consists of 23 articles (including three book reviews) – numbered I-XXIII – written by G. over 33 years (1972-2005) and first published in international journals, Festschriften, and miscellaneous works. Three articles (VII, XIV, and XVII) were written with K.A. Worp. The contributions are preceded by an extensive bibliography divided into four main sections: abbreviations mostly of journal names and papyrological reference works (pp. 9-12), literary and legal sources (pp. 12-15), papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions (pp. 15-22), and literature (pp. 22-42).

A brief survey of the chapters may be useful for appreciating the importance of the book and for following the main theses of G.'s work. I will therefore sketch the content of each article and highlight the main updates as compared with the original version. The articles will be grouped by topics.

(a) *Munera civica*

Some of the most important scholarly contributions of G. concern *munera civica*. Following R. Rémondon, he interprets the involvement of the *oikoi* in the civic administration as a state-imposed duty based on their patrimony. G. finds evidence for this in the pagarch's office both at Oxyrhynchus and in the Antaeopolite nome, as this can be carried out by two *oikoi* or two persons, who share the responsibility. This practice was adopted because of the lack of qualified administrative personnel, especially between 530 and 550, when Justinian introduced important reforms into the administrative organisation of Egypt. This topic is the focus of chapter I (pp. 43-50): "La pagarchie collégiale en Égypte byzantine" (1972).¹ A section in the original version on the possible connection of the title ἰλλούστριος and the pagarchy has been excluded, as G. himself informs the reader (p. 49). However, in n. 33 the connection is still implied in the arguments about the identification of Anastasia as a pagarch.

The organization and financing of the circus also became a *munus* in Byzantine times. In his article about the hippodrome (II [pp. 51-71]: "Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine" [1976]) G. analyses the papyrological sources (most of them connected with the Apiones family) and compares the terminology (especially the words μέρος and δημόται) with that used in the sources for the circus in Constantinople. In the new version of the article, part of n. 102 (p. 70) has been removed because the reading proposed turned out to be incorrect (see also p. 80, n. 47).

It would have been useful to find references to the new literature about the meaning of πρωτεύων in the papyri (discussed, e.g., on p. 64, n. 65), for which see most recently F. Reiter, *P.Köln* 11.460, introd. (pp. 239-243), and about the title of πρωτοπατρίκιος (mentioned on p. 65, n. 69), about which see R. Mazza, "Φλ. Ἀπίων γενόμενος πρωτοπατρίκιος," *Simblos* 2 (1997) 211-219.

In his article about the *bucellarii* (III [pp. 73-83]: "L'institution des bucellaires" [1976]) G. explains how these soldiers were at the service of the state, not of private landowners. However, according to the system of the *munera*, the task of supporting the *bucellarii* fell on the Egyptian *oikoi*. Updates to the

¹ The original article is called "La détention collégiale de l'autorité pagarchique" (so still p. 168, n. 260): the reason for changing the title is not given.

article consist of G.'s own revised opinions regarding some groups of soldiers (pp. 80, n. 47, and 81, n. 54).

G.'s theory finds its most complete development in his famous article **IX** (pp. 125-213): "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine. (Recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative)" (1985). In particular the article deals with the institution of the *oikoi*. After examining their activities and economic resources based on papyrological, epigraphical, literary, and legal sources, G. concludes that *oikoi* were a semi-public institution. Their revenues and duties were connected with the public administration according to a system based on shares (*merides*), as G. had already pointed out in his article about the pagarchy (**I**). The contribution touches on many important topics, such as the relation between taxes and rents, the existence of private prisons and of a private postal system, the autopraxy, the role of tax collectors, and the legal status of the *coloni adscripticii*. It also contains two appendices. The first one is devoted to the Apiones family, which is described from a prosopographical and sociological point of view. The second appendix contains critical notes about some of the papyri mentioned in the article. It represents a milestone in research on Byzantine Egypt: all studies on the subject written since its first appearance have dealt with G.'s hypotheses, often in contexts much more sophisticated and abstract than the author anticipated (p. 125).

The article contains some updates,² but it would have been useful to highlight the corrections made in the article with references to the *BL*. Moreover, some important literature is still missing: the articles by T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan on Fl. Eulogius³ (p. 176, n. 306), my own edition of the Apionic papyrus *P.Köln* 11.459 including the first occurrence of Fl. Strategius I (p. 183), and B. Palme's contribution on the *domus* of Fl. Strategius Paneuphemos (pp. 194, n. 390, and 200).⁴ The article ends with a useful index of words, which still refers

² The author corrects a typo regarding Θ(εο)ῦ on p. 204, l. 1 of the Greek text; he refers to new editions, *BL*, and new literature about individual texts or issues, e.g. the new papyri on Timagenes (p. 164, n. 244), my new edition of *P.Oxy.* 16.2039 (pp. 166, n. 254, and 183, n. 337), the contributions by W. Liebeschütz and A. Laniado about *syn-telestai* (cf. p. 174), some new work on the Apiones, whose results are not made explicit or discussed (p. 183), and new papyri regarding Flavia Anastasia (p. 202).

³ "More from the Archive of the Descendants of Eulogius," *AnalPap* 8-9 (1996-1997) 209-218, and "P. Lond. V 1876 descr.: Which Landowner?" *CdÉ* 79 (2004) 241-248.

⁴ "Die *domus gloriosa* des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos," *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125. G. seems to have this article in mind when he lists the other contribution on the subject published by Palme – "Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos und die Apionen" (referred to on p. 200) – as "Die *domus gloriosa* des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos und die Apionen" (p. 36). On a possible relationship between the Apiones and Flavianus' family see now my articles "Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti

to the pages of the original version.⁵

Article **XXI** (pp. 441-451): “Les pétitions privées” (2004) examines the transformation of the genre of petitions during Late Antiquity, by analysing its format (letter versus traditional petition) and addressees (landowners versus public magistrates). After presenting the world of large estates and the situation of the peasants (*coloni adscripticii*), G. focuses on the *munera civica* performed by landowners, who acted as public magistrates in their *civitates*. As the petitions were addressed to landowners performing such a role, G. concludes that they cannot be considered as private. Moreover, he points out that the well-attested Oxyrhynchite model of sharing duties among the *oikoi* also applies to other Egyptian regions. Updates include new literature (p. 448, n. 31) and new editions (pp. 444, n. 18, 448 with n. 29, and 449) as well as new readings (p. 444, n. 15).

(b) Editions and Revisions of Papyri

A significant part of G.’s work consists of papyrus editions and corrections of edited papyri. Included here are the editions of two papyri from Apollonos Ano, housed at the IFAO and addressed to Papas, pagarch of the city, whose dossier was published by Rémondon in *P.Apoll.* (IV [pp. 85-91 with plates II and III]: “Papyrus grecs inédits d’Apollônos Anô” [1979]). In updating the editions, G. refers to their republication as SB 14.11917 and 11918 and includes a new date (ca. 670 instead of the beginning of the 8th century),⁶ bibliographical information (p. 87, comm. to l. 5), some minimal textual corrections (p. 85,

papiracei,” in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the XXVth Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007* (Ann Arbor 2010) 33-46, and “Petizione di un carcerato al προκουράτωρ di Ptolemaios (zio di Fl. Apion I?). P.Vindob. Inv. G 41392 (V sec.; Herakleopolites),” in H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven 2010) 491-498; on Theon’s *oikos* (p. 164) see the recent contributions by R. Pintaudi, “Un documento dell’*oikos* di Theon (PL III/331),” *BASP* 45 (2008) 185-187, and N. Gonis, “Prosopographica II,” *APF* 55 (2009) 91-92.

⁵ A minor change took place in the numbering of the footnotes. The original nn. 216 and 217 on p. 36 of the old version have been joined to the table, so that they do not count in with the other footnotes (p. 159 of the new version). This means that after n. 215 the footnote numbering is two numbers behind the original article; e.g. n. 216 of the new version corresponds to n. 218 of the old one. The change is not flagged, and the quotations within the article are made according to the new version, although they were not put into square brackets.

⁶ As proposed by G. and K.A. Worp (p. 85; now recorded in *BL* 8:376).

intro.),⁷ and a new reading of *SB* 14.11918.7 (p. 91; *BL* 11:7-8).

The next chapter of the book (V [pp. 93-97 with plates IVa and b]: “Documents grecs relatifs au monastère d’Abba Apollôs de Titkôis [*SB* XVI 12266 et 12267]” [1979]) also contains two editions of documents, which come from the monastery of Apa Apollos in Titkois in the Hermopolite nome. In contrast to the original article, G. points out (p. 97) that this monastery seems to be the same as the one of Apa Apollos in Bawit. No updates are given for the texts, although G. himself proposed in a later article (cf. *BL* 8:380) that in *SB* 16.12266.1 $\mu\epsilon\rho()$ could be interpreted as $\mu\epsilon\rho(\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma)$ rather than as $\mu\epsilon\rho(\iota\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma)$, as proposed in the first edition. The same correction should have been made for *P.Lond.* 3.1095a.1 $\mu\epsilon\rho()$, discussed by G. on p. 94, comm. a l. 1 (cf. *BL* 8:184).

In a joint article with K.A. Worp, G. revised the edition of *P.Laur.* 4.172 (VII [pp. 113-116]: “*P.Laur.* IV 172 et les taxes militaires au IV^e siècle” [1984]), a papyrus containing the registration of military taxes. According to the revision, the text comes from the Hermopolite nome and is to be dated to the period after 347. Furthermore, the two scholars established the exact amount of the *primipilon*, its relation to the mule tax, and its character as a land tax. The correction to *P.Lips.* 87, reported in n. 6, can now be found in *BL* 8:172, while the corrections proposed by the two scholars on the Florentine papyrus are now recorded in *BL* 8:167.

The next article (VIII [pp. 117-124 with pl. V]: “*P.Mich.* XIII 665 [*SB* XVIII 13320]: complément textuel-notes critiques” [1985]) also contains the revision of a papyrus, thanks to the discovery of a new fragment. A piece of papyrus owned by a private collector turned out to belong to a long house sale. The whole text is now republished up to l. 28, along with a translation and notes. The article ends with a section of critical notes on the subsequent lines of the text.

In X (pp. 215-216 with pl. VI): “La garnison de Thèbes d’après O.IFAO inv. 12 (*SB* XVIII 13321)” (1986) G. publishes a Byzantine ostrakon mentioning a *centurio* of a Roman legion. This is *Legio III*, installed by Diocletian as recorded in the *Notitia dignitatum*. A reference to Zuckerman’s book (*Du village à l’Empire: autour du registre fiscal d’Aphroditô* (525/526) (Paris 1994) is added for the tax collectors ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\tau\eta\tau\alpha\iota$) (p. 216, comm. to l. 2).

The corrections of XII (pp. 223-245 with pl. VII-XVIII): “Comptabilités fiscales hermopolites du début du VII^e siècle (*SB* XVIII 13752-13761)” (1987) concern 10 fragments of codices, kept in the collections of Basel, Florence, and Vienna. They contain tax accounts, which have many points in common

⁷ In *SB* 14.11918.1 I wonder if the participle $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon[vo\varsigma]$ should not be supplemented as $[-vo\iota]$, as the main verb ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi[έμ]ψ[αμεν]$, cf. l. 2) is reconstructed in the form of the *pluralis maiestatis* (cf. also p. 90, comm. *ad loc.*).

with *PSorb.* 2.69, on whose edition G. was working in 1987. After analysing the structure of the accounts, including the taxpayers (ὀνόματα), their intermediaries, and the formulas occurring in the entries, G. edits the texts with a short introduction and commentary. Updates include references to *SB* numbers and editions published in the meantime – such as *PSorb.* 2.69 and *SPP* 3².201, where G.'s proposal of a new reading appears to have been ruled out (p. 229, n. 34) – and new literature.

XIII (pp. 247-305 with pl. XX-XXIX and XXX b, c): “Le cadastre d’Aphroditô (*SB* XX 14669)” (1987) concerns the famous papyrus known as the cadaster of Aphrodites Kome. The chapter is an updated version of the original edition, published under the name of both G. and L.S.B. MacCoull (p. 247). The text documents the fiscal situation of the village at the beginning of the 6th century, after the fiscal reform of the *scholastikos* and *censitor* Ioannes. G. updates his edition with new literature on the papyrus and additional observations, especially on the date of the text (beginning of 524?; pp. 249 and 250), on aspects of the language (pp. 248 and 284, comm. to l. 65), on the content,⁸ and on readings.⁹ Two appendices containing new editions follow: the first one is dedicated to *PCair.Masp.* 3.67140, the second to *PGot.* 20 (inv. 2). Updates of the appendices consist of the reference to *SB*, where the new editions have been included (*SB* 20.14670-14671), the date of the first papyrus (later than the cadaster; p. 293), readings and content (pp. 293 and 294-295, comm. to l. 15 and 16), and the place where the second papyrus was found (Lykopolis?; p. 295). In addition to the plates of each column of the cadaster, already given in the original version of the article, the new one also contains a plate of the rolls as a whole (pl. XXX b, c). An index closes the article (pp. 299-305). The footnote numbers are increased by one in comparison with the original article because of the addition of n. 1.

The article **XIV** (pp. 307-308 with pl. XIX¹⁰): “Prêt byzantin (*SB* XX 14425)” (1988), written together with K.A. Worp, contains the edition of a loan contract dated to 443, whose provenance is unknown.

The next new edition concerns the so-called “table budgétaire” of Antaiopolis, which is a very important document for the history of the fiscal and military politics of Justinian (**XV** [pp. 309-349 with pl. XXX a; XXXI-XXXIII]: “La table budgétaire d’Antaeopolis [*P.Freer* 08.45 c-d; *SB* XX 14494]” [1989]).

⁸ On persons (pp. 249, n. 9, 282, comm. to l. 4, 283, comm. to l. 44), names (pp. 282, comm. to l. 8), and places (pp. 282, comm. to l. 12, 283, comm. to l. 44, 284, comm. to l. 65).

⁹ See pp. 259, n. 95, 261, 283, comm. to l. 31, 285, comm. to l. 72, 286, comm. to l. 102.

¹⁰ The caption of the plate refers to a private collection in Cairo, while G. speaks of a private collection in Paris on p. 307.

Updates consist of a number of new readings, proposed by G. himself in 1991, but not included in SB 20.14494, as well as further remarks by other scholars (pp. 309, n. 2-3, and 343, comm. to l. 6). G. also gives new literature on the text and connected issues¹¹ as well as a new interpretation of φιλιτ() (not Φιλιτ(ιανοῖς), but φιλιτ(αῖς) for φιλητ(αῖς)) in *P.Oxy.* 27.2480.82 (p. 347, comm. to l. 29).

XVII (pp. 377-400 with pl. XXXIV-XXXVIII), written in collaboration with K.A. Worp ("Un dossier d'ostraca du VI^e siècle: les archives des huiliers d'Aphroditô" [1990]), focuses on the edition and revision of a group of ostraca from the 6th to 7th centuries, containing delivery orders and addressed to the ἐλαιουργοί (oilmakers) of Aphroditos Kome. The texts of the dossier (= SB 20.14544-14573; cf. p. 377) are preceded by introductory comments on their host institutions, provenance, material, handwriting, date, text structure, and various aspects of the content. The edition of the texts themselves (pp. 386-400) is accompanied by two tables (p. 385), illustrating the daily rations of oil to the military and to civilians in Byzantine times according to the papyrological sources. The article concludes with the re-edition of three ostraca, which are probably connected with the dossier (pp. 398-400; cf. now *BL* 9:417). Two further testimonies (pp. 378 and 400), confirmation of readings (p. 388), and new literature (p. 400) have been added.

In chapter **XX** (pp. 431-439 with pl. XXXIX): "Décision de Caesarius, gouverneur militaire de Thébaïde" (2002), G. analyses a papyrus from Lycopolis from around 451. The text concerns the decision of the military *comes* of the Thebaid in a legal case involving soldiers. G. updates the bibliography (pp. 431, 431-432, n. 5, and 432 with n. 7), the provenance and the dating of the text (Antinoopolis/Lycopolis; p. 431) and adds new readings (pp. 435 and 437). In addition to the plates of the *recto*, already contained in the original version, the new one also gives an image of the *verso* (pl. XXXIX d).

Article **XXII** (pp. 453-458) contains the new edition of *P.Mich.* 3.160, a document concerning the (in papyri) rarely attested *comes sacrarum largitio-*

¹¹ G. adds an updated list of the papyri from Aphroditos Kome (p. 310, n. 5) as well as new literature on the date of the papyrus (533-539 or 546-548; pp. 312-319), the *Mauri* (pp. 313, n. 14, and 314, n. 20), the *Numidae* (p. 314, n. 19), the date of Justinian's Edict XIII (end of 538?; p. 314, n. 23), Andreas *aktouarios* (p. 315, n. 26), the cadaster of Aphroditos Kome (p. 316, n. 27), the chronology of its accounts (pp. 317-320), the meaning of ἀχυρον ("balle"; p. 320, n. 40), units of measurement (*modius* and *sextarius*; p. 321, nn. 46 and 48), the function of *nauarchos/navicularius* (pp. 340-341), the interpretation of l. 4 (pp. 342-343), the provenance of *P.Ryl.* 4.704 (Hermoupolis?; p. 344, comm. to l. 17), the *Bis Electi Iustiniani* and the *Numidae Iustiniani* (p. 345, comm. to ll. 18 and 22), and St. Psates (p. 349, comm. to l. 37).

num ("Un document sur la fiscalité des largesses au début du V^e siècle [réédition de *P.Mich.* III 160]" [2004]). G. discusses the date (404/5 or 419/20; p. 454), the syntactical structure (p. 455), and the content (p. 455) of the document. Further observations are given in "Notes complémentaires" (pp. 456-458).

In **XXIII** (pp. 459-473) G. republishes *P.Bour.* 19, a document concerning a deed of surety addressed to the military governor and *praefectus augustalis* of Egypt ("Un cautionnement adressé au gouverneur militaire et préfet augustal d'Égypte [réédition de *P.Bour.* 19, Planche XL]" [2005]). After an introduction, in which the date, the content, the provenance, and the addressee of the text are discussed, a new transcription with apparatus and translation is given. An extensive commentary follows. Two appendices close the article. The first one discusses the date of *P.Oxy.* 63.4399 and the other one concerns *P.Prag.* 2.186. New literature is given (pp. 460, n. 5, and 468, comm. to l. 17).¹²

(c) Book Reviews

Two of G.'s book reviews included in the volume deal with Egypt under Arabic rule. The first one (**VI** [pp. 99-112]: "De Byzance à l'Islam: les impôts en Égypte après la conquête arabe" [1983]) concerns K. Morimoto's book on the fiscal system under the Arabs.¹³ It especially focuses on the amount and distribution of the poll tax. Against Morimoto's opinion, G. demonstrates how the Arabs did not adopt a system based on persons, but perpetuated the fiscal structure of the Byzantine period based on property. G. discusses how the papyri play a major role in the comprehension of such matters and analyses *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079. In an update (p. 99) the papyrus is said to be part of the same codex as *CPR* 9.44-53 and 56 (cf. **XI**, p. 220). The article also includes new literature on Islamic Egypt (cf., e.g., p. 100).¹⁴

The other review dealing with Islamic Egypt concerns *CPR* 9 (**XI** [pp. 217-222] of 1986). In this, G. connects the codex edited under the numbers 44-53 and 56 with a Greek-Coptic papyrus from London (cf. **VI**). The reunification was not recorded in *BL* 8:116 with the rest of G.'s remarks, but only in *BL* 10:49.¹⁵ Moreover, G.'s remark was overlooked by L.S.B. MacCoull when she edited the Greek text of the London piece in 1994 (= *SB* 22.15711; cf. *BL*

¹² But concerning *CPR* 5.18, mentioned on p. 462, n. 9, it is not stated that, according to *SB* 24.16312.5-7, Theodoros was *dux et augustalis* of Alexandria (and not of the Thebaid, as proposed in the article).

¹³ *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (Kyoto 1981).

¹⁴ Now add, e.g., *CPR* 30 by F. Morelli.

¹⁵ But *BL* 10 refers to G.'s later article "Les codices documentaires égyptiens," in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex*, (Turnhout 1989) 86 (here **XVI**).

11:70), so that she took the credit for the discovery (see the updates on p. 219).¹⁶ Besides, there are bibliographical updates about the title ὑπερλαμπρότατος in *protokolla*, which must be replaced with ὑπέρλαμπρος, and a new interpretation of the *chrysargyron* in *CPR* 9.44 and *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079 as a toponym (p. 220).¹⁷

In **XVIII** (pp. 401-415) of 1996 G. reviews R.S. Bagnall's book, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993). After praising the extent of both the sources and the literature considered in the book, G. expresses reservations about the method used by the author, who deliberately limits himself to papyri and uses a quantitative approach. In the course of the review the main topics of the book are presented chapter by chapter. G. updates the contribution by adding observations about specific topics such as the administrative-geographical transformations of the period (p. 404) and corrections of his own previous opinions (p. 408).

(d) *Other Topics*

In article **XVI** (pp. 351-376) G. analyses the codices containing documentary texts ("Les codex documentaires égyptiens" [1989]), from several points of view: chronology, places of discovery, origin of the book format, and its material features. He even identifies a so-called Panopolite standard. The analysis is followed by four lists concerning the sources examined in the article, their provenance, their content, and their material features. Updates consist in the mention of new documents, such as *P.Erl.Diosp.* and *P.Col.* 9.247,¹⁸ which turn out to be the oldest known documentary codices (p. 352).¹⁹ G. also adds new literature, information about texts²⁰ and issues,²¹ and revisions of his own opinions (pp. 359, n. 48, and 362).

Article **XIX** (pp. 417-429) deals with the fiscal privileges of the clergymen as requested by St. Basil in his so-called letter 104 ("Les privilèges du clergé d'après la «lettre» 104 de S. Basile" [1997]). After presenting the Greek text and

¹⁶ The article by F. Morelli is now recorded in *BL* 12:59.

¹⁷ Cf. now also N. Gonis, "Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt III," *ZPE* 169 (2009) 197.

¹⁸ Note that these texts are not considered in the lists at the end of the article.

¹⁹ Note that the edition of *P.Berol. inv.* 7358-7359 – still unpublished at the time of G.'s original article, but edited in 2001 and reprinted in *SB* 26 (2006) as number 16551 – is not mentioned. According to the edition, the codex dates to the first half of the 3rd century.

²⁰ But the possible alternative date of *P.Oxy.* 16.1917 (616-617?; cf. *BL* 10:144) is not mentioned (p. 371, no. 76).

²¹ See pp. 352, n. 6, 353, 354, n. 15, 362-363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 371, and 372.

translation, G. examines its genre (letter versus petition) and meaning and then discusses several dubious passages. The article ends with an addendum containing an update on the subscriptions of governors in petitions.

The book ends with an index of sources (pp. 475-491) and subjects (pp. 493-494) and 40 plates (the first one is a map of Egypt).

The favorable impression one gets from reading the book is slightly marred by various imperfections that could have been avoided. The square brackets for marking updates do not appear to have been used consistently, so that misunderstandings arise.²² Moreover, this way of marking updates is not applicable to new readings in transcriptions, where square brackets have another meaning.²³ In addition, updates are not always explained²⁴ and are sometimes not taken into account in other places in the book.²⁵ Moreover, during the process of transforming the original articles into the new versions, some typos were introduced, especially in Greek words, which may also mislead the reader.²⁶

²² Some passages should have been enclosed between square brackets (some of them are instead put in round brackets), e.g. pp. 120-121: lines 29-99 of the papyrus quoted in the commentary, as they refer to the new edition (SB 18.13320, cf. p. 117); in IX the quotation of the footnotes beginning with n. 216; p. 167, n. 258: "suivante"; p. 205, under the title: the remark that the index still refers to the old page numbers; p. 307, para. 1, l. 1: "planche XIX"; p. 311, n. 7: "ici même p. 247-306" (read 305); p. 324: the entire n. 54; p. 377, para. 1, l. 4: "actuels SB XX 14544-14573"; p. 429: the whole "ADDENDUM"; p. 431, intro., r. 3: the first footnote's number and "j'ai offert en 2002"; p. 441, n. 3: "dans le présent ouvrage", "ici p. 417-429", and "p. 419-420". Moreover, on p. 432 the square bracket, which opens before "La paléographie" (last sentence of the page) does not close.

²³ There is no evident solution for this problem, but at least the ruled out readings mentioned in the apparatus could have been given between square brackets (cf. pp. 435, concerning the reading ἐπ- instead of ἐγ- in l. 14, and 437, regarding the reading μὲν γάρ instead of μὲντοι in l. 6).

²⁴ See, e.g., p. 203: in the comm. to l. 7 of SPP 3.271b the sentence "lire Ἰωσηφίου" has been left out.

²⁵ In some cases, hypotheses which have been ruled out at some point are still implied in later passages. See, e.g., p. 82, n. 63: the reference to n. 47 should have been deleted from the new version, as the reading referred to turned out to be wrong. In some other cases, updates mentioned at some point are not taken into account in later parts of the contribution. See, e.g., p. 77, n. 31: the text would have been clearer if G. had been more specific in the explanation that ἔχοντες must be interpreted as ἔχοντας (cf. the update in n. 30); p. 168: the fractions reported regarding P.Oxy. 16.2039 should have been updated according to the new edition of the text (cf. p. 166, n. 254).

²⁶ See, e.g., p. 36, fourth entry from the bottom: "di" > "da"; p. 46, n. 21: "p. 1344" > "13-14"; p. 55, last para., l. 1: "attributions, de" > "attributions de" and "publics en" > "publics: en"; p. 56, n. 26: "imrporpoe" > ἱμροτρόφος; p. 58, n. 29: "(toi" > οἱκοι; p. 61, last but one para., l. 2: "comme et non plus" > "comme μέρη et non plus"; p. 75, n. 21:

Finally, cross-references between the old and new versions of the articles are not always consistent.²⁷ All this does not in any way affect the value of the book, which is a fundamental work for every scholar of Late Antiquity.

πάρασχ(ου) > παράσχ(ου); p. 77, n. 31: the suspension points in the translation are not in the right place; p. 87, comm. to l. 2 ἀπὸ τοῦ etc.: ἡμῶν > ἡμῶν; p. 89: the transcription of l. 8 is missing (by the way, in SB 14.11918, line 10 must be read as 8); p. 108, about “P. 107-108”: ἐηζήτῳμένα > ἐπιζητούμενα; p. 109, about “P. 120-122”: ζένοι > ξένοι; p. 115, n. 6: needs to be put further, at *P.Lips.* 87; p. 118, l. 3: ἀδελφον > ἀδελφοῦ; p. 121, comm. to l. 23: ὑπάρχ[ον] > ὑπάρχ[ο]ν (cf. p. 118); comm. to l. 28: the dot before α must be deleted; p. 138, C, l. 2: ἀπαιτητής > ἀπαιτητής; apparatus, to 2-3: [ἀρ]χ(ι)συμμη(άρχου) > [ἀρ]χ(ι)συμμη(άρχου) and “140” > “410”; to l. 4-5: ἐκ[κλη] [σία] > ἐκ[κλη] [σία]; p. 218, comm. to 39-43a, Greek text, l. 3: ὑπερλαμποτάτου > ὑπερλαμπροτάτου; p. 228, last but one para.: ἐμβολ(ῆ) > ἐμβολ(ῆς); p. 234, comm. to 6: Ἡλία<ς> > Ἡλ[ι]α<ς>; p. 235, comm. to 7, last but one l.: “peut” > “peut-être”; p. 241, 8., l. 1: “Planche XVII” > “Planche XVIIa”; p. 244: “→1 à 18” > “↑1 à 18”; p. 259, n. 94: δημοσία > δημοσία; p. 327, para. 2, l. 5: οἰκόκρεον > οἰνόκρεον; p. 329, n. 80, last but one l.: ἀννωνόκαπιτα > ἀννωνοκάπιτα; p. 330, para. 2, l. 2: χλωρογαγία and para. 4, l. 1: χλωρογαγία > χλωροφαγία; p. 352, II, l. 2: “39” > “59”; last para., l. 7: πυκτή > πτυκτή; l. 9: πτυκταί > πτυκαί; p. 354, n. 15, l. 2: ἔλις > ἔλις; p. 368, 31), last but one l.: “di” > “da”; p. 395, text 21, comm. to l. 5, l. 3: ου > “ou”; comm. to l. 11, first l.: οἰκονομο > οἰκονομο; Pl. V: “107 (SB XIV 11918)” should be deleted as referring to Pl. III; Pl. XXXIX: “a. P.Acad. 56/12” > “a. P.Acad. 56/1 + 2”; “c. P.Acad. 56/3” > “c. P.Acad. 56/4”; “d. P.Acad. inv. 057 v.” > “d. P.Acad. inv. 57/1 v.”.

²⁷ Sometimes references to pages and/or footnotes are made according to the original version and not the new one. See, e.g., p. 59, n. 36: “p. 194 n. 2” > “p. 194 n. 2 [ici p. 58 n. 30]”; p. 81, n. 51, last l.: “page suivante” is actually the same page in the new version; p. 117, l. 3: “pl. 16” > “pl. 16 [ici pl. V]”; p. 378, n. 2, l. 3: “p. 104, n. 4 [ici p. 248]” > “p. 104, n. 4 [ici p. 248, n. 5]”. Sometimes references are given only according to the new version. See, e.g., p. 78, n. 32, last l.: “n. 24” > “p. 147 n. 1 [ici p. 76 n. 24]”; p. 313, n. 16, last but one l.: “n. 12” (read 13) > “n. 8 [ici n. 13]”.

Reviews

Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden*. Vol. 1 (in two parts): *Die Mumienbinden und Leinenamulette des memphitischen Priesters Hor*. Vol. 2: *Handbuch zu den Mumienbinden und Leinenamuletten*. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 12. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008. Vol. 1.1: xx + 227 pages; vol. 1.2: viii + 161 plates; vol. 2: xiii + 466 pages. ISBN10 3-447-05746-7.

This massive work is a revised version of a dissertation submitted to the University of Bonn in 2005. The book comprises two sections. In the first volume (in two parts) Kockelmann publishes the mummy bandages of a Memphite Priest, Horus, probably from the early to middle Ptolemaic period (1.1:46-47).¹ They are photographically documented in 73 plates (in 1.1); a complete hieroglyphic transcription (together with the vignettes) is given in 1.2. In the second volume he offers a general handbook for the study of inscribed mummy bandages. The author has obviously invested an enormous amount of thought and time in the publication of the mummy bandages of Horus and in the subject in general. With these formidable volumes, beautifully organized and presented, he has excellently succeeded in making the topic more accessible and in revealing its intrinsic importance. The abundant indices and cross-references greatly aid the reader in navigating between the volumes. Clearly, this publication will become the standard reference work on the subject.

As Kockelmann remarks, this class of text, while widely distributed throughout museum collections, has been rather neglected. He estimates that there are more than “2000 Fragmente von mindestens 233 verschiedenen Totenbuch-Exemplaren auf Mumienbinden bekannt, die in über 80 Sammlungen, verteilt auf rund 20 Ländern, verwahrt werden” (1.1:1). Despite numerous excellent studies and individual articles,² as a class of text, mummy bandages

¹ Kockelmann prefaces his edition of the mummy bandages of Horus with a detailed account of the widely scattered individual pieces, found in Berlin, London, and New York (1.1:1-9). Similarly, the technical data presented (1.1:49-76) are almost overwhelming. Indeed, I have seldom seen such an amount of information offered to the reader in an *editio princeps*.

² E.g., A. De Caluwe, *Un Livre des Morts sur bandelette de momie* (Bruxelles, *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* E. 6179) (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 18; Brussels 1991). Of works

have not received their due within Egyptology and papyrology. Some consider these objects not aesthetically pleasing; their state of preservation is frequently lamentable. Despite this widespread prejudice, many distinguished names in Egyptology, beginning with Athanasius Kircher himself (2:3), have described mummy bandages; Kockelmann's survey of the history of the study (2:1-8) is fascinating reading.

In the handbook (vol. two) Kockelmann covers an astonishing range of topics, far too many to be adequately covered in a review. The following comments must suffice. I would particularly mention his treatment of chronological continuity within the corpus of Book of the Dead mummy bandages (2:9-23) and the geographical range of Book of the Dead texts on mummy linen (2:23-37). He offers scholars much promising data regarding the geographical distribution of mummy bandages: "Der folgende Katalog listet in geographischer Ordnung von Nord nach Süd alle zur Zeit bekannten Handschriften auf, zu deren Provenienz Angaben vorliegen oder die sich aufgrund textinterner Daten (Titel, regional typische Personennamen) sicher oder mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit einem bestimmten Ort zuweisen lassen" (2:25). Kockelmann displays enviable mastery over the problems of dating specific groups of mummy bandages and attributing them to workshops or individuals (2:23). He devotes an informative chapter to the textiles employed for the Book of the Dead mummy bandages (2:39-90). One learns, for example, that in the New Kingdom linen discarded by the gods was reused as mummy bandages for private persons; in the Third Intermediate Period the Amun priests could be warned "not to use temple textiles for the wrapping of the mummies of their relatives" (2:40). He discusses usefully the placement of vignettes and their relationship to the texts (2:91-114; 212-216). Some burials preserve both Book of the Dead papyri and mummy bandages, and the writing is so similar that one may assume that both were inscribed by the same scribe, or at least in the same workshop (2:117-118). He observes that, while mummy bandages were sometimes mass-produced, and kept on hand for future use, the practice was apparently rarer for mummy bandages than for Book of the Dead papyri (2:143-145).³ Naturally, Kockelmann studies the palaeography of the mummy bandages of Horus (1.1:26-43);⁴ a table offers a comparison of Hieratic signs in

appearing after Kockelmann's book I would mention M. Vandenbeusch, *Catalogue des bandelettes de momies du Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (Geneva 2010).

³ Still uninscribed mummy bandages might be reserved for specific individuals while yet in the scriptorium (2:42).

⁴ He is, of course, aware of the difficulties of employing Late Period Hieratic signs for dating purposes. His detailed remarks on selected signs should be carefully read by those interested in the subject of Late Period Hieratic. Exceptionally, Kockelmann

various mummy bandages (2:122). The beautifully illustrated and documented discussion of the ordinal numbers often found on mummy bandages is also of palaeographical interest (2:147-189). Other technical points considered are the use of the brush or split writing reed (2:129-130; cf. also 2:209-210) and the inks employed (2:131).

A check of numerous passages in the hieroglyphic transcription of the mummy bandages of Horus has confirmed its reliability. Considering its length and occasionally poor state of preservation (see, e.g., 1.1, pl. 60), this accuracy in itself is a considerable achievement. There is no translation, but the detailed critical apparatus (1.1:87-173) offers a wealth of parallels and references to other Book of the Dead manuscripts. While this section is primarily addressed to specialists in the Book of the Dead, Egyptologists with other research interests can profit from reading this critical apparatus. One finds, for example, comments on: grammatical constructions or features (e.g., use of "late" forms of the dependent pronoun 1.1:97); orthography (e.g. the "short" writings of Thoth, 1.1:103; *hbbn.w* for *bhn.w*, "dogs," 1.1:109); textual variations or omissions (e.g., missing sections of Book of the Dead 18f, 1.1:105); lexicography (e.g., the curious use of *ibt*, "to catch" (of the heart) where other manuscripts have *wpty*, "messenger," 1.1:111); palaeographical problems (e.g., the possible confusion between the Hieratic writings of *pri*, "to go out," [written with the viper] and *phr*, "to encircle," 1.1:142).

Historians of religion will appreciate Kockelmann's analysis of the representation of the Book of the Dead spells on mummy bandages, particularly in comparison with the Book of the Dead spells on papyrus (2:191-203). He emphasizes the scarcity of papyri with truly "complete" collections of Book of the Dead spells. While virtually all Book of the Dead spells 1-162 are represented on papyrus (2:192), it is quite rare to find mummy bandages with many Book of the Dead spells in sequence. Kockelmann observes that the mummy bandages of Horus which he publishes in 1.1 contain at the most 120 Book of the Dead spells, although hardly one is complete (1.1:84). He does believe that, taken as a whole, the collection of spells upon the mummy bandages was rather comprehensive and quite similar to the distribution of spells in the papyri (2:200). Kockelmann discusses the various instances of mummy bandages with non-identified texts (2:207-208). While sometimes this is simply a question of editorial misidentification, several of these cases do deserve close study. It is intriguing, for example, to learn that one text contains a "modification" of Book of the Dead 101 (2:207), that is, the "core" of the spell is retained but suf-

supplements his palaeographical discussion with an analysis of the style of the vignettes and iconography of the mummy bandages (1.1:43-47).

ficiently changed to be considered an “eigenständiger Spruch.” Specialists will also certainly find those sections dealing with the positioning of the mummy bandages upon the mummy useful (2:225-231).

In addition to mummy bandages with texts, Kockelmann also studies a group of small, generally, rectangular or square, strips of linen, which have upon them only an image, usually a single divine figure (e.g., Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, or Thoth) (2:309-346). While these are sometimes grouped with the Book of the Dead mummy bandages, Kockelmann would classify them as a separate class of object, “linen amulets,” “Leinenamulette” (2:309). He adds that other kinds of linen sheets with simple protective designs upon them are sometimes included in the wrappings of mummies (2:345-346).

Those interested in social history or prosopography will welcome the extensive catalog of possessors of mummy bandages (2:244-302). The notes to this list often contain valuable observations or corrections to the reading of the names. Kockelmann reviews the prosopography and titles for Horus (1.1:11-22). Among these titles, particularly intriguing is *wh^c*, “fisherman,” or “explainer.” While Kockelmann tends to discount the possibility that the meaning “Fischer, Vogelfänger” (1.1:18-19) is likely, one wonders whether this title could not in fact be understood in a metaphorical or figurative sense. One of Horus’s most significant positions is “Scribe of the Divine Book” (1.1:18). Now, the first columns of the Book of Thoth, a composition devoted to scribal art and scribal knowledge, abound in imagery of fishing and fowling.⁵ Given that this vocabulary of fishing and fowling almost certainly refers there in symbolic terms to scribal activity or subjects, I wonder, therefore, whether this title *wh^c* is not indeed, “fisherman,” or “bird-catcher.”⁶

Demoticists will find their due in the volumes. Occasionally, for example, one finds brief Demotic notations regarding the inscription of the Book of the Dead spells (2:187). I believe that Kockelmann is correct in reading *md.w-ntr* in the rather interesting phrase *n3y=f(?) md.w-ntr sh hr / phw=f* “its (?) divine-words are written on their end.” Might the unread Demotic found beneath 3 Hieratic lines of a Book of the Dead text perhaps be read as: ... *r bn-īw h.t n-īm=s* “... there being no book-chapter in it” (2:189)?

⁵ R. Jasnow and K.-Th. Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth 1* (Wiesbaden 2005) 4. Cf. J. Quack, “Die Initiation zum Schreiberberuf im Alten Ägypten,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 36 (2007) 252-253; idem, “Ein ägyptischer Dialog über die Schreibkunst und das arkane Wissen,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 9 (2007) 267.

⁶ Cf. P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78; Leuven 1997) 251-252. I hope to develop this idea elsewhere.

Book of the Dead studies is a vigorous specialty nowadays.⁷ While high-quality work in this field is naturally technical, and perhaps intimidating to those not steeped in the material, I hope even this short review has shown that such research touches on important points relevant to many areas of study in Egyptology and beyond. Kockelmann's volumes are an outstanding example of scholarship. Readers of *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden* will be amply rewarded.

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⁷ See, e.g., B. Backes, I. Munro, and S. Stöhr (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005* (Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 11; Wiesbaden 2006).

Maren Schentuleit and Günter Vittmann, „*Du hast mein Herz zufriedengestellt...*“ *Ptolemäerzeitliche demotische Urkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos*. Corpus Papyrorum Raineri 29. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009. viii + 203 pages + 15 plates. ISBN 978-3-11-020741-5.

The volume under review is an edition of nine Demotic contracts, which have Greek subscriptions, dating from 142 to 42 BCE. One of them has already been published (8 = *P.Zauzich* 63) but the new edition has improved on the readings. The papyri are now in the Austrian National Library but come from the Fayyum village of Soknopaiou Nesos, where they were found in 1891 before being bought two years later by Archduke Rainer. This isolated village on the north side of Lake Qarun (ancient Moeris) was only slightly less barren in antiquity than it is today, holding out with its narrow strip of shore land and its increasingly saline water. We owe the survival of so many papyri and ostraca from Soknopaiou Nesos to the abandonment of the village in the late Roman period, when presumably the lake was no longer potable and the land no longer fertile. During the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the temple flourished thanks to its popular oracle and its priests' extensive business dealings with the Fayyum villages across the lake. It is not surprising that the texts from Soknopaiou Nesos typically stem from this priestly community. This corpus is no exception. Many of the parties to the contracts belong to families of priests in which males have the typical Soknopaiou Nesos title, "Lord of Purity and Overseer of the Great Green Lake of Nepherstis" (1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

The volume begins with a brief description of the texts (pp. 2-6) followed by an overview of the Demotic legal formulas and the Greek subscriptions (pp. 7-11) as well as general comments about paleography and language (pp. 11-12). The edition and commentary occupy the bulk of the book (pp. 17-118) and are supplemented with a short essay on the sanctuary of Harpsenesis (pp. 119-121), a bibliography, a word glossary, and a concordance of Greek and Demotic names (pp. 122-203).

Two documents (1 and 5) are matrimonial property agreements, which comprise an endowment contract joined to a payment contract, although 5 is fragmentary and contains only part of the payment contract. The object of these contracts is the wife's *s'nh*, a sum of money she gives to the husband but can reclaim whenever she wishes. Recognizing the difficulties, the editors translate it as *Versorgung* (English "provision") but suggest that it most closely resembles a kind of loan for the duration of which the husband had to be the provider for his wife, that is, until she demanded its repayment (pp. 25, n. 2; 26, n. 5; 30). Since the husband's property served as security and since his mother and father had a claim to that property because it was part of his inheritance,

their statement of consent is also included in the document (1 DS 5-6, ZS 5-6). They refer to their son in 1 as the recipient of “two shares of five,” meaning that he was the eldest of four children and was entitled – as was customary for the eldest son – to a double inheritance (p. 27).

Four of the nine documents (2, 3, 8, 9) are private conveyances of shares of a sanctuary of the god Harpsenesis, which take the typical form of Demotic sales joining both a sale and cession contract. What was being transacted, according to the editors, was not the sanctuary itself but only the “service days.” They cite as justification for this view a Ptolemaic decree banning the sale of temples (p. 2, n. 12; *SB* 16.12519, mid-II BCE). On the other hand, the ownership of sanctuaries is well attested: for example, *P.Tebt.* 1.88 (= *W.Chr.* 67; 115/4 BCE) is a list of the owners of shares of sanctuaries in Kerkeosiris and of the corresponding revenue and days of service. In all four of the sales edited here the sanctuary itself is given as the object of the sale in the contracts’ principal payment and cession clauses (2 DG 3, DA 1; 3 DG 5, DA 5; 8 DA 4; 9 DG 2, DA 2). Likewise, the Greek subscriptions of 2 (GH) and 9 (GH) designate the documents as sales and cessions of shares of the Harpsenesis sanctuary itself (*syngraphe praseos kai apostasiou ... Harpsenesieiou*).

Admittedly, the transfer clause in 2 refers to the handover of the share of service days rather than of the sanctuary (DG 6, DA 6-7), while the security clause against unjustified claims refers both to the share of the sanctuary and to the share of the service days (DG 11, DA 12). The security clause in the sale contract of 3 (DG 8-11) mentions only the service days, which appear again in the cession contract along with the shares of the income and of the actual space (3 DA 9-12). By contrast, the corresponding clauses in texts 8 and 9 refer consistently to the sanctuary itself, including its physical structure, as the object of sale. In 8 (DA 4) the sanctuary for sale is described as having beams but no doors, as if it were a house for sale, which would be odd if only service days were at stake.

Given instances in the security clauses where the service days appear instead of (or in addition to) the sanctuary, one can see why the editors regarded the service days as the true object of the sales. However, the texts rather support the conclusion that sanctuaries were conceptualized as alienable property in their own right, not unlike shares of any other private property, albeit bundled with special rights and duties. To label texts 8 and 9 as sales of shares of service days in the sanctuary is especially misleading because service days are not even mentioned there. What the variation in the legal formula seems to imply is that shares of a sanctuary entailed the rights to its revenue and to the structure itself as well as the duty to perform a corresponding number of service days. The fact that these documents were phrased as sales of the Harpsenesis sanctuary

suggest that the above-mentioned Ptolemaic decree banning sales of temples may not have applied to lower class temples or sanctuaries such as this one.

The remaining documents (4, 6, 7) are sales and cessions of residential property in the village of Soknopaiou Nesos. In 4 one of the parties has the previously unattested title of “chief letter-carrier” (*mr fj-š.t*) of Soknopaiou Nesos (DG 1), while his son is a temple weaver (*mdqn Sbk*). Both son and daughter appear in this text because they must consent to a transaction affecting their inheritance, though their father is only a co-owner and sells the house and court together with his niece to the daughter of a Soknopaios priest, who already owns the house next door. In 6 we meet a male and a female temple bird catcher (*grg b3k Sbk*), who jointly sell their share of a house and court to a priest of Soknopaios (DG 2, DA 1-2). In 7 a woman sells an unusually lavish property next to her own house to her own brother, who was a Soknopaios priest. The property is a three-storey house with beams and doors together with its gate-house (*htm*), which the editors persuasively identify, based on an equivalence in Coptic texts, with Greek *πυλῶν*, used for living, storage, or work space (p. 94).

The volume has been elegantly produced, setting a high standard for Demotic editions. It contains a pocket full of large and clear black-and-white photographs of the papyri. The transliteration and translation contain no discernable errors and leave only the most illegible signs undeciphered. There are useful diagrams and tables throughout the book which summarize contractual clauses and illustrate spatial and genealogical relationships attested in the documents. The commentaries are concise and readable. The brief concluding discussion of the Harpsenesis sanctuary (pp. 119-21) is limited to a summary of the sources in this volume. It might have been expanded to incorporate a broader range of comparative evidence for the ownership, leasehold, and alienation of minor sanctuaries such as this one in Soknopaiou Nesos and other villages, which would have aided the interpretation of the new texts. Because it is one of the few villages with sources from both periods, Soknopaiou Nesos is an important place for understanding how the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule affected priestly communities and temple economies. As the authors note (p. 1), their edition adds substantially to the relatively few Ptolemaic-period documents from this village that have been published so far. The high quality of the volume under review will surely encourage others to publish more Ptolemaic-period documents from Soknopaiou Nesos.

Stanley E. und Wendy J. Porter, *New Testament Greek Papyri and Parchments: New Editions*. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, N.S. 29 (Text) und 30 (Tafeln). Berlin und New York: De Gruyter, 2008. XIV + 306 Seiten + 55 Tafeln. ISBN 978-3-11-020308-0.

Die Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB) beherbergt unter ihren Objekten eine große Anzahl christlicher literarischer Texte, deren Veröffentlichung bereits in den achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts begann und ununterbrochen bis heute fortgesetzt wird. Bei der wissenschaftlichen Verwendung und Auswertung des edierten Materials bereitete die verstreute Veröffentlichung in teilweise entlegenen und antiquierten Publikationen mittlerweile größere Schwierigkeiten. In zahlreichen dieser Erstveröffentlichungen gab es auch keine photographische Reproduktion der Originale, was die Verwertung der Zeugnisse für die Forschung weiter erschwerte. Wendy und Stanley Porter haben nun eine verdienstvolle Arbeit vorgelegt, in der sie alle bereits veröffentlichten neutestamentlichen Papyri und Pergamente der Papyrussammlung in Wien sammelten, neu bearbeiteten und in einer zeitgemäßen Edition präsentieren. Zusätzlich zu dem Material aus der Papyrussammlung sind in dem Band auch drei Pergamente aufgenommen, die in der Handschriftensammlung der ÖNB aufbewahrt werden (24, 37, 40).

Insgesamt umfaßt die Monographie eine Neuedition von einundsechzig Stücken, die erstmals im Zeitraum zwischen 1882 und 2001 publiziert wurden, sowie die Erstveröffentlichung eines neuen Pergaments (24). Dem Editions- teil (S. 1-294) folgt eine Auflistung aller Neulesungen (S. 295-297) sowie aller Korrekturen zu den früheren Editionen (S. 298-303). Der Textband wird mit drei Konkordanzen abgeschlossen, in denen die Entsprechungen der neuen Editionsnummern mit den Nummern der alten Editionen, den Inventarnummern und den Nummern im Katalog der neutestamentlichen Handschriften von Gregory-Aland verzeichnet werden. Ein allgemeiner Wortindex zu allen Texten des Buches ist leider nicht vorhanden. Die Studie erschien in der Reihe „Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Neue Serie“ als *MPER* N.S. 29. Der Tafelteil mit fünfundfünfzig schwarz-weißen Tafeln aller aufgenommenen Texte wurde als separater Band *MPER* N.S. 30 herausgegeben.

Das neu bearbeitete Material ist sehr umfangreich und in seiner Zusammenstellung für die Textkritik und die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte des Neuen Testaments wichtig. Jeder einzelne Text ist zuerst in einer diplomatischen Transkription und danach als Lesetext wiedergegeben. Ausführliche diplomatische und paläographische Beschreibungen, vollständige Angaben

zu den früheren Editionen und der Sekundärliteratur, Kommentare zu den wichtigen Lesarten und zu den Abweichungen, welche diese von den Lesarten der bedeutendsten neutestamentlichen Handschriften aufweisen, vervollständigen die Editionen.

Die Herausgeber waren zweifellos erfolgreich bei ihrer Bemühung, eine moderne und zuverlässige Textbasis für die in Wien aufbewahrten antiken bzw. frühmittelalterlichen griechischen Zeugnisse des Neuen Testaments zu liefern. Eine systematische Überprüfung der Transkriptionen anhand der Abbildungen bestätigt die Sorgfältigkeit und die Akribie, mit der die Texte transkribiert wurden. Nur an wenigen Stellen sind kleine Verbesserungen vorzuschlagen: **4**, Rekto 15: Anstelle des irrtümlichen ἄπτε]τι hat der Papyrus eindeutig die korrekte Form ἄπτε]ται; **4**, Rekto 26: anstelle des merkwürdigen †θ†ρι[χός würde ich die Lesung τρι[χός vorziehen. **28**, Frg. 1, Haarseite 7: Anstelle von c†υ ist in der diplomatischen Transkription c†υ zu drucken und entsprechend im Lesetext σ(αυ)ρ(ο)ϋ anstelle von σ(ταυρο)ϋ aufzulösen. **58b**, Haarseite, Kol. 2.1: Das Wort [καί], das in der Transkription in Klammern gesetzt wurde, ist auf dem Pergament eigentlich gut erhalten und lesbar. Bei der Punkte- und Klammerverteilung lassen sich an einigen Stellen kleine Ungenauigkeiten feststellen, die freilich den Wortlaut des Textes nicht beeinflussen; z.B. **20c**, 16: ἡμ[ῶ]ν → ἡμῶν; **24**, Verso Kol. 2.4: σήμε[ρον] → σήμερ[ον]; **43**, Haarseite 2: εἰ]μι → εἰ]μι; **55**, Haarseite 16: ἴ]να → ἴν[α (korrekt in der diplomatischen Transkription). Störend ist der Umstand, daß die Klammern an einigen Stellen des Lesetextes versehentlich verkehrt gedruckt worden sind; z.B. **4**, Verso 8: κα[ί] → κα]ί; **10**, Verso 7: κα]ί → κα[ί; **12.8** (7548), b (Verso) 3: βάπτι[σαι] → βάπτι]σαι. In **3**, Rekto 7 sind die Klammern sogar ganz ausgefallen: anstelle von προσευχή Συμεωνος ist [προσευχή Συμε]ῶνος zu drucken. Im Lesetext von **14** ist aus Versehen angegeben, daß der Text mit den Fasern („with the grain“) läuft (korrekt in der diplomatischen Transkription: „against the grain [verso]“).

Bei der Wiedergabe des Lesetextes nehmen die Herausgeber gewisse Inkonssequenzen bewußt in Kauf, wie aus der Einleitung (S. XII-XIII) hervorgeht: „For spelling variations, even if the resulting spelling is very odd, we usually leave that in the reading edition ... Where an error is clearly wrong or results in no sense, we usually correct the reading text, and draw attention to that in the notes to the reading text, noting our correction ...“. In der Tat werden die Fehler der Originale des öfteren im Lesetext unverändert übernommen; vgl. z.B. **16**, 12: φειτόμενοι (für φειδόμενοι) und **34**, Haarseite Kol. 2.29: ἀληθινόν (für ἀληθινόν). Andere Fehler werden wiederum im Lesetext korrigiert; vgl. z.B. **28**, Haarseite 4: λέγοντες (Pergament: λεγοντας); **28**, Fleischseite 11: περιθεις (Pergament: θεριθεις); **30**, Haarseite Kol. 2.34: αὐτήν (Pergament: αυτης); und **40**, Fol. 4 Verso (page 8), Kol. 2.22: οὐδέποτε (Pergament: ουδεπωτε). Oft

findet man die unterschiedliche Praxis in ein- und demselben Text; so wurde etwa die itazistische Form εἰρήνι (für -η) in **58g**, Haarseite Kol. 1.31 beibehalten, in Kol. 2.30 desselben Textes jedoch das εαυτοῖς des Pergaments zu εαυτῆς korrigiert. Dabei handelt es sich um eine editorische Entscheidung, die schon in der Einleitung mitgeteilt wird und daher vom Leser respektiert werden soll, doch erschwert diese Praxis deutlich die Arbeit mit den Texten. Denn allein anhand des Lesetextes läßt sich nun nicht mehr erkennen, welche Lesart vom Original überliefert wird und welche einer Korrektur der Herausgeber entstammt. Für diese Information ist man auf den Zeilenkommentar bzw. die diplomatische Transkription angewiesen. Die Arbeit mit dem Lesetext wird zusätzlich dadurch erschwert, daß in diesem keine moderne, sondern die antike Interpunktion übernommen wurde, deren Wiedergabe in der diplomatischen Transkription m.E. durchaus ausgereicht hätte.

Bedauerlich ist auch, daß manche Elemente zu Beginn oder am Rande der Originale, die nicht zum Text des Neuen Testaments gehören, sondern diverse zusätzliche Informationen und Erklärungen enthalten (etwa Seitenangaben, den Titel des Evangeliums bzw. der Perikope, Angaben zu den synoptischen Nummern des Eusebius; vgl. z.B. **4**, Rekto 1-3 und Verso 1-2 sowie **40**, *passim*), zwar in der diplomatischen Transkription transkribiert wurden, aber im Lesetext nicht mehr aufgenommen worden sind, weshalb einerseits der Lesetext unvollständig ist und andererseits das Verständnis der Herausgeber bezüglich dieser Textpartien nicht immer deutlich wird. Nicht aufgenommen in die Transkriptionen sind auch die koptischen Teile bilingualer Stücke. Zwar ist Gegenstand des Werkes die Edition des griechischen Materials, doch wäre eine Transkription auch der koptischen Partien sicherlich wünschenswert gewesen.

Das Layout des Bandes ist leider nicht optimal. Etwa gibt die Kopfzeile im gesamten Band nur den Buchtitel wieder. Für die Orientierung des Lesers wäre jedoch hilfreich gewesen, darin die Editionsnummer und den Titel des jeweils besprochenen Textes zu finden. Auch die im Tafelband abgedruckten Photos entsprechen nicht dem üblicherweise sehr guten Standard der Reihe. Ferner fehlt im Textband die Angabe der entsprechenden Tafelnummer und umgekehrt im Tafelband die Angabe, welches Fragment bzw. welche Seite eines Textes die Abbildung wiedergibt. Dies ist bei umfangreichen Texten wie etwa dem Papyrus **12** und den Pergamenten **40** und **58**, besonders aber der Nr. **53**, die aus insgesamt sechzehn verschiedenen Fragmenten besteht, lästig. Erfreulich ist, daß alle Stücke komplett abgebildet werden, selbst wenn sie auf einer Seite ausschließlich koptischen Text enthalten, der im Textband nicht behandelt wird. Dies ist z.B. bei **30**, Fleischseite, **32**, Haarseite, **33**, Haarseite, **34**, Fleischseite, und **36**, Haarseite der Fall. Zwei technische Fehler sind mir im Tafelband aufgefallen: Bei dem aus zwei Fragmenten bestehenden Papyrus

13, der auf dem Rekto Koptisch und auf dem Verso Griechisch enthält, geben die beiden Abbildungen jeweils ein Fragment auf der koptischen und eines auf der griechischen Seite wieder. Ferner fehlt bei der Tafel XXXIX der Hinweis, welcher Text in der oberen Hälfte der Tafel abgebildet wird. Es handelt sich um den Text 41 (ediert auf S. 186-189 des Textbandes).

Solche technischen Mängel sollen aber den wissenschaftlichen Wert der Arbeit keineswegs herabsetzen. Die am Ende des Textbandes gedruckten Verzeichnisse mit den Neulesungen bzw. den Berichtigungen zu den älteren Editionen liefern ein eloquentes Zeugnis für die in der Studie gemachten Fortschritte im Bereich der Textkritik. Die Fachwelt verfügt nunmehr über eine moderne Edition, welche dem heutigen wissenschaftlichen Standard entsprechend eine zuverlässige Basis für künftige Untersuchungen bietet und damit für alle, die sich für die neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaft und für die Verbreitung des frühen Christentums im spätantik-byzantinischen und früh-arabischen Ägypten interessieren, eine wesentliche Stütze ihrer Arbeit darstellt.

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Amphilochios Papathomas

Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca graeca et latina IV: The Quarry-Texts. O. Claud. 632-896*. Documents de Fouilles 47. Le Caire: IFAO, 2009. VIII + 367 pages. ISBN 978-2-7247-0494-5.

The fourth volume of the ostraca from Mons Claudianus (*O.Claud.* 4) has appeared nine years after the third (2000), while the first two volumes were published in 1992 and 1997. It contains an edition of 265 previously unpublished ostraca from the quarries. The overwhelming majority is in Greek, but there are also a few pieces in Latin. Texts of various types are included in *O.Claud.* 4, most of them accounts, lists, orders, and letters. All ostraca date from the second century AD. Only a few provide detailed chronological indications. The editor suggests broader datings for the rest, for instance to the Trajanic or Antonine periods, based on the archaeological context in which the ostraca were found.

The edition of the texts (pp. 11-232) follows a short yet informative introduction (pp. 1-10). Each text is preceded by a brief introduction and accompanied by an apparatus, where needed, and a short commentary. It is regrettable that translations are not provided for all texts. Especially in fragmentary contexts the reader would have greatly benefitted from tentative translations.

The quality of the edition is excellent and only minor criticisms can be made. In the following notes, I suggest corrections to some of the texts:

647.3: ἐργοδῶται → ἐργοδότη(αι); abbreviated in the same way as τηρητ(αί) at l. 9.

696.2:] φν ἄσθενουντ() η → probably [- - - ἐξ] φν ἄσθενουῦντ(ες) η (“of whom 8 [were] ill”); cf., e.g., **708.2** and **27**.

708.3 and **714.2:** τεσσεράρις → τεσσαράρις; cf. **722.1:** τεσσαράρ(ις).

715.10: στατιωνάριοι → στατιωνάριο(ι) and **14:** παγαν(ῶν) → παγανῶ(ν) (obviously misprints; cf. app.crit. ad loc.).

717.7: Αἰγύπτω → Αἰγύπτωι.

717.14: κς seems more probable to me than κε.

723: A line containing the entry ἀρτοκόποι(ς) β has been omitted between ll. 30 (σκοπηλάριοι β) and 31 (κελλοτηρητ(αί) γ) in the transcription. The word ἀρτοκόπος, which is attested also in other ostraca from Mons Claudianus (e.g. on **722.23** and **853.36** of the present volume), should be added to the index of the volume.

724.1: κατ' ἄνδρα → κατ' ἄνδ(ρα).

725.3: φαρμαξάριοι → φαρμαξιάρι'οί' and φυσηταί → φυσητ(αί).

749.1-2: The first two lines of this ostrakon are transcribed in the edition as follows: trace | ὑποκά[τω. The “trace” at l. 1 is in fact the τ of ὑποκάτω, which is written above the line (between ο and κ) in order to mark the abbrevia-

tion. Therefore, l. 2 of the edition is actually l. 1 of the ostrakon and it should be transcribed as follows: ὑποκάτ(ω). All other lines should be numbered by minus one (l. 3 of the edition is now l. 2 etc.), and no brackets are needed at the end of the lines.

758.5-6: τετρατροχ() | πλάκα<ς> ἐπὶ κρηπίδε. The ostrakon has the normal form κρηπίδα instead of the peculiar κρηπίδε of the edition: the α is written in exactly the same way as in δέκα (l. 8). Furthermore, I would prefer the transcription τετράτροχ(ον) | πλάκα or τετράτροχ(ος) | πλάκα (l. πλάξ).

776.8: Φιλοσερ(άπιδι) → Φιλοσερά(πιδι); perhaps Φιλοσεράπ(ιδι), if the traces after α are to be interpreted as a superscript π.

796.6: Πετεχώνσεος → Πετεχώνσις. The nominative here is not surprising; cf. Παχοῖβις at l. 5.

809.3: The editor transcribes Ἀθὺρ κθ, but notes that one could also read κβ instead of κθ. The reading κβ seems more probable to me, since I can see no horizontal stroke on the ostrakon.

823.2: στόμωσι(ν) → στόμωσιν. ν is written as a horizontal stroke above ι.

826.1: Ἀπολλώνιος → Ἀπολλώνειος (read -νιος).

832.16: [Σ]εραπίων Ἀχιλλ(ῆτος). The form Ἀχιλλ(ῆτος) should be rejected, since it exists neither in documentary papyri nor in Greek literature. It is probably the result of a misprint, since the form given in the index (p. 236) is Ἀχιλλᾶτος (gen. of Ἀχιλλᾶς). This form is correct, although Ἀχιλλ(έως) (gen. of Ἀχιλλεύς) is also possible.

833.1: στόμ(ωσιν) → στόμ(ωσις). The editor could have been influenced by the erroneous form στόμοσιν (read στόμωσις, not στόμωσιν as in app.crit.), which occurs in 832.1.

833.3: Ἀπολ<λ>ώ(ιος) → Ἀπολ<λ>ώ(νιος) (a misprint).

833.7 and 12: Σωκράτ(ου) → Σωκράτ(ους). Furthermore, l. 18: Σωκ(ράτου) → Σωκ(ράτους).

833.20: Μάρκου → Μάρκ(ου).

833.39: Ἀγαθήμ(ερος) α. In the transcription, α is printed at the right end of the line. This gives the impression that α stands for the number of σιδήρια that have received hardened points (here only one). Actually, α is the first letter of the name of Agathemeros' father. The line is to be transcribed as follows: Ἀγαθήμ(ερος) Α[(rest of the patronymic) α].

834.2: [- - - Σω]κράτου → [- - - Σω]κράτου(ς). The last two letters are almost erased and τ seems to be superscript; therefore [- - - Σω]κράτ(ους) is not excluded.

834.7: Σωκράτου → Σωκράτου(ς) (ν is written above the line).

835.2: Σωκράτου → Σωκράτου(ς) (the superscript ν indicates here as well that there is an abbreviation).

836.4: Ἑρμᾶτ(ος) → Ἑρμογ(ένους). For the γ, cf. the same letter in Λογ(ι) (l. 7). What appears like the vertical stroke of a τ, is the vertical stroke of ρ of Σερήνο(υ) from the line above. The name Hermogenes is attested in the ostraca of Mons Claudianus; cf., e.g., **766.1** of the present volume.

836.6: I see no reason for preferring the rather rare name Ἀπολ(ινάριος) over other more common alternatives like Ἀπολλώνιος, which, by the way, the editor prefers in the case of the same abbreviation at l. 5 of the same text: Ἀπολ(ωνίου).

840.7 and **8:** α (= 1) → δ (= 4); cf. l. 14, where δ, standing for “four,” is written in the same way. Furthermore at l. 8: ὕδρηγοί → ὕδρηγο(ι).

850.12-13: κυρ|[ρίου κτλ.] → κυ|[ρίου κτλ.] (apparently a misprint).

854.6: ἡμεῖς → ἡμῖς (read ἡμεῖς).

854.11: ξύλα κ τῆς → ξύλα ἐκ τῆς.

861.6: Σωκράτου[→ Σωκράτου[ς - -].

865.4: καλῶς ποιήσεις → καλῶς ποιεῖς.

866.1: ἀδελφῶ → ἀδελφῶι.

870.2: φιλτάτωι → τιμιωτάτωι.

872.7: [ἐρ]ρῶσθαί σε → [ἐρ]ρῶσ{σ}θαί σε.

876.4: σιδήρι/α\.. The ostrakon has ει instead of ι. Furthermore, I see no α. If the photograph is not misleading (which is sometimes the case, especially at the beginning and end of the lines on the convex side of the ostraca), the ostrakon has σιδήρ{ε}ι|[α τῶν σκληρο]υργῶν.

878.7: ἔνθα → ἐνθάδε. The photo shows that there is room for two letters between ενθα and παρ[ά]. Of the second letter there remains an horizontal stroke, which must have been part of an ε. The word ἐνθάδε is attested in the so-called archive of Athenodoros, to which our text belongs; cf. **879.5:** ἐνθάδε μὴ ὑπάρχ[ι].

878.9: δεκαπέντε → δεκαπέν[τε] (with the same caveat concerning the photo as in the remark made above on **876.4**).

884.1: There is no need to accept a mistake of the scribe (το for τῶ). The ostrakon has τῶ (the right half of ω was written on the now lost part of the ostrakon).

884.8: Ἐπεῖφ ις: I would not exclude the possibility of reading ιγ instead of ις (Ἐπεῖφ ιγ = 7th of July).

885.4: ἀπεσταλκεῖναι (translated as “send message”) → ἐπεσταλκεῖναι. For the form of ε, cf., e.g., the ε of ἐνγράφως at l. 9; ἐπιστέλλω is used also at l. 11 of our text (ἐπισταλῆ). The translation of the passage offered in the edition remains valid, since ἐπιστέλλω also means “send a message, write word.”

887.1-2: τιμι|ωτάτω → τειμι|ωτάτω (read τι-).

890.4: χαίρειν → χαίριν (l. -ειν).

890.5: ἐξελεθῆν → ἐξελεθῖν (l. -εῖν).

891 The ostrakon consists of two parts, which the editor joined successfully (O.Claud. inv. 7487-7518). Unfortunately, only the right-hand part is reproduced in the plates. The editor kindly placed at my disposal a photograph of the joined ostrakon (see opposite), which confirms the validity of the transcription.

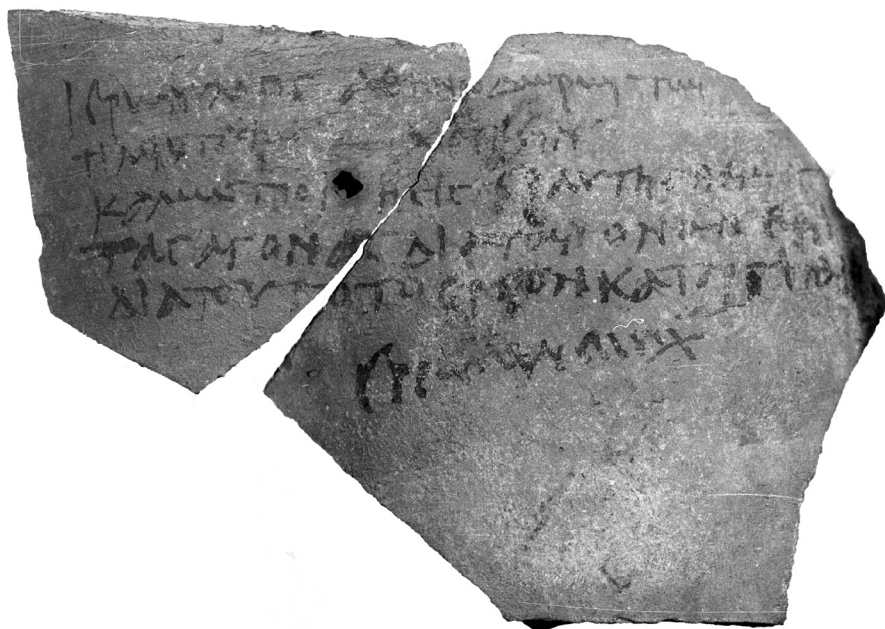
893.6-7: μὴ ὀχνῆς μοι [- - -] | [. . .]ε. The ostrakon has ὀκνής (subjunctive of the verb ὀκνέω) instead of ὀχνῆς. An attractive restoration of the whole passage would be: μὴ ὀκνής μοι γρά[φειν ἄδελφ]ε (or κύρι]ε). However, the space at the beginning of l. 7 seems to be inadequate for this supplement.

894.2: The editor assumes that the scribe intended to employ the structure καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψας, but forgot the participle πέμψας at the end of l. 2. I would not exclude the possibility that he opted for καλῶς ποιήσεις ... πέμψαι and wrote the infinitive πέμψαι in the part of l. 5 that has been broken off.

Sometimes there is lack of consistency as far as the expansion of abbreviations is concerned. Ostrakon **833A** is a good example. At l. 8 the editor prints Ἀμμω(νίου), at ll. 26 and 38 Ἀμμώ(νιος) and at l. 28 Ἀμμών(ιος). At l. 27, however, he decides not to expand the same abbreviation: Ἀσκλᾶς Ἀμμω() α. Surprisingly enough, on p. 233 the person in question is indexed as Ἀσκλᾶς Ἀμμω(νίου). The decision not to write out an abbreviation like Ἀμμω() is not necessarily false, since apart from Ἀμμώνιος there are also other possibilities, such as Ἀμμωνιανός and Ἀμμωνᾶς (for the latter, cf., e.g., **838.6** of the present volume). In any case, the editor should have dealt with all five attestations in the same way.

The book concludes with indices, three appendices, two concordances, and plates. The unquestionable usefulness of the indices is hampered by the following shortcoming: for unknown reasons, the patronymics that occur in the texts have not received separate entries in the *index nominum*, but are mentioned only in the entries on the names of the sons of the people concerned. For instance, Ἀχιλλᾶς (**832.16**) has been listed in the entry for his son Σεραπίων, and Χρυσόμαλλος (**836.6**) in the entry for his son Ἀπολ(.). To mention another example, although the name Ἀμμώνιος/Ἀμμωνᾶς occurs five times in **833**, only three citations that concern names of workers (ll. 26, 28 and 38) are provided in the index, whereas the two patronymics attested at ll. 8 and 27 receive no separate entry, appearing only under the names of the respective sons. Therefore, the reader has to work through the whole index to find out whether a name is attested in the volume or not.

The three appendices contain some welcome additions to the book. The first appendix offers a brief dictionary of the technical terms found in this volume, the second treats the number of people living and working at Mons



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Claudianus, and the third deals with the issue of transportation of the particularly heavy columns produced in the quarries down to the Nile.

Photographic reproductions of more than 190 ostraca are included in the seventy five plates at the end of the volume (pp. 291-367). Nevertheless, it is a pity that some of the ostraca have been left out.

Misprints or spelling errors are rare, but occasionally occur in the transcriptions of the texts (cf., e.g., 885.9: ἐνγραφῶς; 894.3: ἔπτα).

The few shortcomings mentioned above do not detract from the great quality of the whole work. The edition of the 265 new ostraca is a valuable and difficult project, well realized by the author, who has done an excellent job in deciphering and commenting upon these difficult-to-read texts. His effort to place the new material in its archaeological and socio-economic context is particularly praiseworthy. While interpreting the ostraca, he makes full use of the archaeological data of the excavation as well as of previously acquired knowledge about the Eastern Desert in the Roman period. Although in some cases the analysis must remain speculative due to the scarcity of information, most of the editor's conclusions are convincing. Furthermore, the learned commentary demonstrates how important it is to deal with documentary sources

in their archaeological context and to combine information provided by texts connected to each other. None of the ostraca published in this volume could have fully been understood in isolation. Taken together, they provide a vivid picture of the techniques, working procedures and everyday life at the quarries of Mons Claudianus during the second century AD.

The excellent quality of scholarship and the high quality of printing and reproductions make this book a valuable contribution to the international efforts for publishing the vast material found in recent years at Mons Claudianus (over 9,000 ostraca so far) and for reconstructing the history of this area of the Eastern Desert during the Roman period.

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¹ The present as well as the preceding review of *MPER* 29-30 were written in the framework of an Alexander von Humboldt-Fellowship at the University of Heidelberg.

D. Obbink and N. Gonis (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 73. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 94. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2009. xii + 215 pages + 12 plates. ISBN 978-0-85698-182-1.

This volume contains editions of papyri from the Oxyrhynchus collection in honor of Peter Parsons and John Rea. There are six categories of texts: theological (4931-4934), excerpts from Comedy (4935-4937), literary, both new (4938-4945) and known (4946-4949), subliterate (4950-4952), and documentary (4953-4967). 4954 has been previously published as *P.Oxy.* 2.394 but is re-edited in this volume since it belongs to the same dossier as 4953. All papyri are from the Roman period, as expected.

4931 (fifth century) contains vv. 3-8 of Psalm 90. This Psalm is well attested in the papyri, as table 1 (pp. 3-5) shows. On account of the Psalm's exorcistic content single sheets containing parts of it were used as amulets, and 4931 may have served this function. The layout of the lines does not correspond to that of the *textus receptus*. At → 3-4 the papyrus has ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις instead of the unanimous ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ, while at ↓ 1-2 the scribe also omitted something. 4932 (also fifth century), which transmits Psalm 72:21-23, was written on the back of an account of goods and was used as an amulet.

4933 (third-fourth century) is a collection of Biblical excerpts (↓: Jeremiah 38:24-26, Amos 9:11-12, and an unidentified text; →: Psalm 17.1-12) that belongs to the genre of *testimonia*. These texts are linked to each other through a messianic motif related to Jesus' mission as the redeemer of mankind, the founder of the Church, and the conqueror of sin and death. This piece may have been part of a private copy, as is suggested by its informal script, the lack of stichic arrangement in the excerpt from the Psalms, and the fact that there is no clear-cut separation between passages (cf. on ↓ 6). According to the editor's reconstruction, the codex from which this piece came must have been of a small format, which would make good sense if it belonged to some travelling teacher or missionary.

4934 (late third-early fourth century) transmits part of the First Letter of Peter (1:23-2:5, 7-12) and is possibly the earliest attestation of Peter's letters in Oxyrhynchus. At → 11 we should read συνκατ[α]λαλιά.

4935 (second century) offers ll. 1043-1051 and 1202-1210 of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*. At l. 1047 the papyrus omits R's μοι (also deleted by Hermann), and it shows that at l. 1051 βάρβαρον, a word suspected by earlier scholars, is an ancient reading.

4936 (second century) transmits part of Menander's *Epitrepontes* which, as the editor argues, should be placed in the dialogue between Karion (the cook) and Onesimos (the slave) in Act 1, before the deferred prologue speech.

Two columns survive, preserving ends and beginnings of lines respectively. The fragment adds another person to the dialogue, Chaerestratos, and it appears that the characters are forming some sort of plan. A fragment of a play belonging to New Comedy is also transmitted by 4937 (sixth-seventh century), a scrap of a vellum codex. This is a scene of betrothal, possibly from Menander's *Georgos*. The identification is based on the principle that fragments of New Comedy preserved as late as the sixth or seventh century (to which this fragment is dated) are to be attributed to Menander; and because Gorgias, one of the characters in 4937, is one of the *dramatis personae* of Menander's *Georgos*, "known to be among the persistent survivors of Menander's plays."

4938 (first half of second century) is identified with Empedocles' *Physica* on account of the overlap with an Empedoclean verse quoted by Aristotle and Strabo (= B88 D-K). This seems to be a book-copy of Empedocles' work, although it is impossible to tell with absolute certainty whether the papyrus contained the entire poem or a series of excerpts.

4939 (first half of second century) offers hexameters of Roman date, possibly an *ethopoea*, in which case this would be the earliest hexametric *ethopoea* transmitted on papyrus. Instead of Homeric or Hesiodic themes, the author of this piece, who laments pathetically the death of his beloved, uses motifs from erotic poetry and the novel. The speaker contemplates suicide as a possible solution to his sorrow, but discards it as not being a noble form of death. He decides that he has to endure, given that even gods cannot escape Fate. If we accept the reconstruction of ll. 5-7, it is noteworthy that the girl's excellence is compared to that of a ram, a lion (?), and an eagle, i.e. strong (male) animals, before she is likened to a rose (?).

4940 (first century?) preserves a fragment of a historical narrative, dealing with events of 58 BC (Ptolemy Auletes' departure from Alexandria and his efforts to secure his return). The editor proposes Timagenes as the author (possibly from his *Περὶ βασιλέων*), while C.B.R. Pelling in a note following the editor's commentary suggests Munatius Rufus. I wonder if we should punctuate col. 2 as follows: ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μετ[ὰ τῇ] γ τῶν 'Ρο[δίων] ὕβριν πλείστον | Πτολε[μ]αίῳ μετὰ μελ[λον] ἐργάζεται τῆς φυ[γῆς], καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὑπε[ρ]χόμενου πρεσβεύειν | εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. | ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν λαμβά[ν]ει, τάχα μὲν τι καὶ βαρύτερον πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας | λει[τ]ουργίας ὑπολαβών | (πάρεστι γὰρ αὐτῷ μηθ[ε]νὶ μήτ' ἐμφορνεστέρω[ι] | μήτε κρε[ί]ττονι τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμ[ό]νων) πει[θα]ρχεῖν, πα[ρ]αφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ | Τρύφων. Ptolemy regrets his flight from Alexandria, even though Cato promised to go on an embassy on his behalf; he (= Ptolemy) then intends to take him (= Cato) with himself, but Tryphon in turn argues for delaying. The placement of the genitive absolute at the end of the period is noteworthy but not unparalleled (cf. Xen. *An.* 6.2.10

καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων). τάχα μὲν τι ... ὑπολαβὼν explains λαμβάνει, the par-enthetic γάρ-clause explains ὑπολαβὼν, and δὲ καὶ picks up μὲν οὖν. These words probably represent the *oratio recta* of Ptolemy's "friends," as Professor Pelling suggests in his second note.

A fragment explaining the purpose of Plato's *Theaetetus*, possibly by Thrasyllus, is preserved in 4941 (first half of second century). The identification of the fragment's author with Thrasyllus is suggested a) by the fact that no other author had adopted Thrasyllus' arrangement of Plato's works; b) because Thrasyllus' scheme purported to represent how Plato had "edited" his works; and c) by some linguistic details (ἐπί + dat. at l. 7 and ἐπεὶ] καὶ βούλεται ... [δε]ῖξαι at ll. 11ff). The fragment may have derived from the introduction to a commentary on the *Theaetetus*.

4942 (third century) contains a fragment from Zenobius' *Epitome* 1. In what survives we have the end of a discussion of the proverb πάντ' ὀκτώ, a discussion of three proverbs that occur in Menander and deal with Ἀράβιοι, and the explanation of the proverb πρὸς δύο οὐδ' ὁ Ἡρακλῆς (itself not preserved in the extant portion). It is noteworthy that this last explanation coincides in part, up to ll. 11-12 [ὑπὸ τῶν | ἐγχωρίων "ἀδὺ ὕδωρ," with ΣΠ. *Phd.* 89c (p. 13 Greene), but our fragment continues with the mention of Euphorion instead of the sources cited in the scholion. At col. 2.4, the ζ in οὐδείς does seem corrected as the editor suggests, and I wonder whether the preceding ι is also involved in the correction.

4943 (second century) and 4944 (early third century) are excerpts from Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*. 4943 contains material corresponding to *Il.* 1.33-53, but without any reference to Chryses' prayer or Apollo's causing the plague, which Dictys as an Achaean soldier could not have known, and shows that the Greek version existed already in the 2nd century. 4944, the longest known Greek text of Dictys after *P.Tebt.* 2.268, provides the conclusion and *sphragis* of the work where Dictys identifies himself, his homeland and function, and talks about his language and historiographical method. This excerpt shows that the book division of the Greek version up to this point must have been as Septimius, the author of the Latin version, indicates in his epistle. In both Dictys papyri the editors frequently make comparisons with Septimius' version, thus elucidating his treatment of the Greek original.

4945 (third century) is a fragment of Lollianos' *Phoinikika*, as is surmised by the presence of the character Glauketes. This piece, whose subject is love and its effects, adds some new characters to the cast, as well as some mysteries (e.g. should we understand Μυελός to be a person or should we prefer μυελός, "marrow, brain"?). A male character is love-struck and informs some

other character of his condition; he then sends a messenger to Glauketes asking to arrange a meeting at night and without any witnesses, which the latter apparently does.

4946 (third century) transmits Dionysius of Halicarnassus *AR* 4.77-78. Partly anticipating Cobet's correction of the manuscript tradition, the papyrus offers πολλάκις ἦν ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος at col. 2.11-12, while at 13 it transmits δὲ ὁ καιρός instead of the MSS δ' ὅ τε καιρός.

Strabo 5.4.12-13 is preserved in **4947** (second-third century). The papyrus departs from the MSS in a few points (fr. 1.9 γε]νομ[ένης for MSS γενηθείσης may be corrupt, while the omission at fr. 3.4 is probably also to be attributed to scribal error), but agrees in some cases with the MSS against modern conjectures (fr. 3.1-2, 3-4).

4948 (third century) contains Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.37.8-10 and 38.4. This piece is notable for offering at col. 2.6 a better reading than the one transmitted by the MSS (συμπλοκάς for περιπλοκάς), while the papyrus' reading in col. 1.8-9 must have differed from what is transmitted in the MSS. Aelius Aristides *Panathenaicus* 390, 392 is preserved in **4949** (sixth century), which does not offer any new readings.

4950 (second century) offers *post eventum* predictions concerning years AD 69-70, connecting the arrival in Egypt of a king "with the mongoose's eyes" (= Vespasian) with another king's destruction of Jerusalem (= Titus).

The following two pieces are fragments of commentaries. **4951** (first century) is a commentary on a poetic text, either in dactylo-iambic meter or in comic trimeters (Crates, *Samioi*?). The papyrus transmits in ll. 14ff. a new fragment of Sophron. At col. 1.5 read βο]υστάτιδος and at col. 1.17 perhaps στας ἔβασκε. In the note on 8-10 (on p. 132) we should supplement (at l. 12) [τὸ γὰρ |μ]υθίζειν ἐπὶ τοῦ στασιά|ζε]σθαι τιθέασιν (or rather μυθέ|ε]σθαι, as the editor suggests at the end of the note); on the case with ἐπὶ = "applied to, with reference to," cf. E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford 2007) 118 (§4.1.31). **4952** (third century) contains portions of a commentary on Archilochus' trimeters. This piece transmits a new Archilochean expression (διμοιρής), mentions the fact that the poet's mother was a foreigner (also transmitted in other sources), and confirms the existence of the division of Archilochus' poetry into books according to metre in Roman times. The piece ends with a colophon containing part of the commentator's name and the title of the work.

4953 (48) and **4954** (ca. 49) are petitions concerning extortion. Together with the parallels they demonstrate that extortion from tax collectors was a frequent phenomenon. In **4953** the petitioner claims that because of the extortion he is in arrears for the trade tax for the year, while in the case of **4954** the extortionist took away a cloak in addition to money.

4955 (late first-early second century) contains a military roster in Latin, mentioning guards assigned to strategic locations. **4956** (146/7) and **4957** (147) are census declarations (κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί).

4958 (148) is an application to Ischyrión, royal scribe and acting *strategos*, regarding some public land that the applicant, Onnophris, expected to cultivate after the death of his father who had leased it. But another character, Sarpion, has made an overbid, possibly to sublet it if he should be granted a lease.

4959 (second century) is a private letter in which Ammonius reassures his parents that his brother Theon has fully recovered from a chill. The letter's layout is regular (angular filler signs have been added to the end of some lines), while a second hand (possibly Ammonius himself) appears to have corrected the letter at certain points. The letter has been crossed out with a large X. **4960** (second century) contains a letter addressed to a *stolistes* and a crowd (πληθος), informing them about the outcome of a court case.

4961 (223) contains two copies of a petition to the prefect with his *subscriptio*. In this document Diogenis asks the prefect to ignore a previous *subscriptio* that was unfavourable to her, but favourable to her (deceased) father and stepmother, who had brought charges against her for allegedly not showing proper filial respect. This "double document" shows that Aedinius Iulianus was still prefect on 14 November 223, against A. Stein's argument in *Die Prefekten von Ägypten* (München 1950) 127.

4962 (third century) is a letter of Ammonius in which he informs Diogenis that his "brother" has been appointed to the office of *komogrammateus* and expresses his hope that his past services will still find favour with the new *komogrammateus*. This document may be evidence that the term of office began on 1 Thoth. **4963** (third-fourth century) is another private letter, in which Heraclas informs Diogenes of his illness and of someone's order that he be arrested. The person who ordered Heraclas' arrest must have been known to the addressee since he is mentioned only in a casual way.

4964 (fourth century) is a list of *epoikia* and numbers of workers requisitioned to work at Alexandria. **4965** (also fourth century) contains a letter written by Manichaeans, as is shown from expressions such as the παρακλητικὸς λόγος (10), ἀδελφοὶ ἄγιοι (15), ἐκλεκτοὶ (20), and κατηχούμενοι (16, 21). **4966** (371) mentions the sale of half the irrigation equipment attached to a well. **4967** (sixth-seventh century) is a work contract for a public crier, the only contract to mention a public crier's gear (a wand and bells) and term of service (one year).

A set of indices and twelve plates with reproductions of some of the papyri round off the volume. Better quality images of all the papyri may be found at the Oxyrhynchus website.

Some editorial conventions merit comment. The theological texts and 4935 (Aristophanes) are printed without accents. The two pieces from Menander (4936 and 4937) are edited with both a diplomatic and an articulated text (with accents). The same applies to all new literary texts. Known literary texts, however, are printed without accents or a diplomatic transcription, whereas subliterate texts receive both a diplomatic transcription and an articulated, accented text. There are a few misprints, which do not detract from the overall quality of the volume.¹ In sum, the transcriptions are accurate and the comments illuminating, as expected in a *P.Oxy.* volume, and we should be grateful to the editors.

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Athanassios Vergados

¹ On p. 10 read Psalm XVII 1-12 (instead of 1-112); on p. 44, end of note on l. 5, read γελάα (instead of γελαᾶ); at 4939 col. 2.2 read ρεῖᾶ κε (instead of ρεῖα κε); on p. 54, second paragraph of note on l. 19, read ὀράσθαι (for ὀράσθαι); on p. 59, l. 17, read δυνατοί (instead of δύνατοι); on p. 64, l. 5, read τοιαύτας (for τοίαυτας); on p. 102, note on l. 93, read συγγράφω (instead of συνεγράφω); on p. 105, last line of second paragraph, read *Phoinikika* (instead of *Phoinikia*); p. 109, fifth line of the translation, read Myelos (for Mylelos); on p. 128, last line of third paragraph, read μυθιῖται (instead of μυθιῖται); on p. 130, first line of note on ll. 1-3, read τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα (cf. l. 8 of that note), and in the sixth line of the same note, read ἡτοιμάζοντο (for ἡτ-); on p. 132, l. 8 read στασιασταί (for στασιᾶσταί); on p. 138, l. 1, read Χρυσ]οστολ[ικοῦ (instead of Χρυσ]οστόλ[ικου).

H. Maehler, C.E. Römer, and R. Hatzilambrou (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 75. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 96. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2010. 164 pages + 12 plates. ISBN 978-0-85698-196-8.

P. Oxy. 75 includes the work of graduate students at the University of London and of participants in a Summer School in Papyrology at the same university as well as the work of the editors themselves. The documentary texts date from the first to the ninth century CE and encompass a wide variety of types, including financial and legal documents, letters, party invitations, and a list of names that is probably a school exercise.

This group of papyri contains a number of uncommon items worthy of note. **5049** preserves first century CE prices for a number of items. **5050** dates to the reign of Otho; there are very few texts from his short time in office. A personal letter (**5054**) contains a rough breathing mark above an initial omicron, a rarity in documentary papyri. A sixth century sale of wine (**5069**) describes a party as a “black man and freedman”; sixth century references to slaves occur infrequently, as do references to Africans (the editor presumes that the freedman in question was a Nubian).

A third-century letter concerning a debtor (**5062**) is interesting for its tone. In the letter, the creditors, a group of family members, are shocked by the audacity of the debtor, as they claim that he is trying to evade his obligations by making false statements to various officials. Their exasperation with the situation is evident in the papyrus’ colorful vocabulary.

The editor of **5054** includes a long note on the meaning of the word πᾶτον; on this word, see also my article in *BASP* 45 (2008) 244-245, note to lines 9-10 (neither papyrus provides enough context for an authoritative definition of the word).

This volume also contains several theological texts, including hymns written on parchment (**5023-5024**) and a rare late antique fragment of the book of Judith (**5020**). Known literary texts include epic, lyric, and prose. **5029** preserves a passage of the *Argonautica* not otherwise attested on papyrus. **5032**, a second/third century fragment of the *Iliad*, preserves fragmentary marginalia. There are also two substantial fragments of oratorical prose by unknown authors. **5025** is an Attic oration which seems to address historical events of the fourth century BCE. The editor was unable to determine whether it is a declamation or the account of an oration in a historical source.

The volume contains meticulous editions with full physical descriptions of nearly all of the papyri themselves. While not all the texts are included in the plates, high-resolution, color photographs are available at <http://www.papyrol->

ogy.ox.ac.uk/POxy/. Still, for a text such as **5071**, where the writing is of such interest, it would have been helpful to have an illustration in the volume itself.

I was pleased to see that one of the editors, Angeliki Syrkou, addressed the acquisition history for two of the papyri. In the introduction to **5068**, she notes that this papyrus appears, from its inventory number, to be linked to another firmly dated text; both include a certain Theodorus, the *nomikarios*. The fact that **5070** was found with another dated text may help narrow the ninth indication found in **5070**. While I recognize the problematic state of Grenfell and Hunt's excavation records, I hope Oxyrhynchus editors will continue to trace the records of their papyri as fully as possible.

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Federico Morelli, *L'archivio di Senouthios anystes e testi connessi. Lettere e documenti per la costruzione di una capitale*. Corpus Papyrorum Raineri 30. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010. x + 281 pages + 24 plates. ISBN 978-3-11-022887-8.

This is the first of two projected volumes whose purpose is to gather together, reassemble, select, and present Greek documents from the Greek-Coptic archive of the *notarios* Senouthios, *anystes* of the northern *skelos* of the Hermopolite nome just after the Arab conquest. Most of the 32 documents in this volume are assigned by prosopographical associations, subject matter, and so on (“diversi elementi”) to ca. 643/4, based on a pivotal second indiction (see *Introduzione*, pp. 22-27), in other words, on the very cusp of the new Arab administration. The papyri are all Viennese. They are also all Hermopolite in provenance, but after they had been purchased and come to Vienna they were mistakenly thought to have originated, like so many other papyri on the market in the 1880s, from the first and second “Fayyum Finds.” A riveting section of the *Introduzione* (“L’archivio: tentativo di una storia,” pp. 2-9) reconstructs how this happened. The papyri are from a period until now underrepresented in the documentary record. One may compare what was available thirty-plus years ago as presented in P.M. Fraser’s “Additional Bibliography” to A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (reprint 1978), with the recent surveys by S.J. Clackson, P.M. Sijpesteijn, and T.S. Richter in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbassids* (2010).¹ Not only has the material – Greek, Coptic, Arabic, even Pahlevi – increased; it is now better organized and for that reason more accessible.

The volume’s thematic focus is derived, broadly speaking, from administrative correspondence explicitly or implicitly concerned with the requisition of materials (brick, mortar, lime, dung) for construction of the new capital at Babylon, and for their downriver transport by ship, perhaps part of a massive, Egypt-wide effort rather than a merely local enterprise (p. 96). Related issues are the impressment of laborers by the new state and requests for release from such impressment (see pp. 238-239 for an orientation to these). As such the archive’s concerns, while earlier in date, are similar to those of *P.Apoll.* and

¹ A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (2nd ed.; Oxford 1978) xlvi-xlviii and lxxvi-lxxx. S.J. Clackson, “Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri,” P.M. Sijpesteijn, “Multilingual Archives and Documents in Post-Conquest Egypt,” and T.S. Richter, “Language Choice in the Qurra Dossier,” in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the ‘Abbāsids* (Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT 2010) 73-104, 105-124, and 189-220.

some of the correspondence and lists of the Qurra archive. The longest and most important single document is **1**, a sensational piece for the administrative topography of the northern Hermopolite (for which see pp. 96-127; cf. **31** and **32** as well as *P.Col.* 9). Also individually significant is **16**, with its list of ships harbored in a particular (though unnamed) port. The remaining pieces, various kinds of correspondence and lists, are important for their associations with the archive and their cumulative contribution to its range and substance. With rare exceptions (e.g., **20 recto**) they are fragmented, lacunose, tattered, and in difficult hands, including the standard seventh-century “corsiva inclinata.” For these reasons, the editor’s readings, though they often seem to border on the miraculous, are obviously based on an exceptionally deep familiarity with his documents’ palaeography and contents.

As mentioned, the central figure in all this (Introduzione, p. 18; cf. **3.15** note), the recipient of most of the documents, is one Senouthios, a notary by training and current *anystes* (“manager”?) of the northern *skelos* (“leg”) of the Hermopolite nome. Both administrative terms, though not new, are rare; thus it is hard to say whether they are carryovers from the end of Byzantine administration or were newly minted under the Arabs, and whether they were particular to certain nomes or used countrywide. The *anystes* was obviously an official operating above the level of the village but below that of the pagarchy. The Hermopolite’s northern *skelos* implies a southern counterpart with its own *anystes*, each *skelos* amounting to roughly half the pagarchy (cf. p. 153).

Senouthios’ functions as *anystes* were extensive enough to warrant their own *officium*, whose home the editor locates (pp. 18, 112, 198) at Tlethmeos, a port town north of Hermopolis on the Bahr Yusuf (see map, p. 116). Senouthios’ papers were there archived separately from those that came to reside in the central pagarchal office in Hermopolis and also separately from those that we imagine came to reside with the *officium* of the southern *skelos*. Some of Senouthios’ correspondence was with the pagarch, though this is rarely clinched by surviving *verso* addresses. Addresses do not always survive in any case, and when they do, they tend to be in poor condition. Nevertheless, senders and recipients can be reasonably surmised from contents, handwriting, and tone or style (registers of discourse?), the last marked, for example, by the pagarch’s bald imperatives and telling adverbs (see, e.g., p. 184). At the very least the evident power differentials between senders and recipients, in an archive where the *dramatis personae* are few and circuits of communication rather limited, are reasonable indicators as to who is who (see in particular pp. 208-210 and 219). An especially interesting feature in a half-dozen pieces is the marking of time of their dispatch (ἀπελύθη) at such-and-such an hour (1st, 2nd, 6th), or even sunset (**8.6**). These indications are taken by the editor as

clues that the documents in question emanated from the office of the pagarch (p. 160, note to 6.21; further on times of the day, pp. 154-156, in reference to 5). 13 is unique in also noting the place where it was written (Telbonthis). Unfortunately there are no notations of days or times of receipt or specific notations for purposes of ancient archival referencing. See, nevertheless, the editor's reconstruction (p. 215) of how 18-19 came to rest in Senouthios' archive.

Apart from Senouthios, important as second and third actors in the record are Athanasius the pagarch, directly responsible to the central government, and his staff employee, Taurinos. A landlord named Menas, a *scholastikos*, figures prominently in documents concerned with gaining release of his laborers from state-imposed *corvée* (see 17-19, perhaps 21, with relevant editorial discussions). The new Arab overlords accordingly hover over but do not directly participate in the communications published here.

Like other recent editions (C. Zuckerman's *P.Aphrod.Reg.* of 2004, where the text edition seems to stand as a coda to the work as a whole; A. Verhoogt's *P.Tebt.* 5 of 2005, with its descriptive introduction and contextualized "dramatic reading"), Morelli's volume also experiments with format. The *Introduzione* impressively occupies 47 folio-sized pages, but it is the ratio of commentary to text that is after all the volume's most stunning feature. The most extreme case is 1, with its 81 pages (pp. 57-138) of commentary to 99 lines of account-style text, occupying roughly four pages (pp. 50-54). The commentary falls into two parts. The first surveys the contents of the text (pp. 57-127), amounting in effect to a series of technical and historical essays, with the pages on ship construction and Nile transport (78-92) being of special interest. Although such surveys in all cases follow the text, critical apparatus, and translation, the editor in his index of names and notable things (pp. 267-273) refers to them as "introd." The second part of the commentary for 1 is the line-by-line commentary on readings and points of detail (pp. 127-138).

The descriptive introductions prefixed to the individual documents set a new standard for comprehensiveness, precision, and consistency of presentation. The usual template seems to be: papyrus color, quality, and completeness; presence of *kolleseis*; style and direction of writing, color of ink, on *recto*, then *verso*; identification of folds and intervals between; information on acquisition and inventorying – but of course each papyrus will call for its own, variable, particular description. Such meticulous attention to each material papyrus is matched by corresponding sections of the volume's *Introduzione*. Especially noteworthy there are the pages (pp. 31-38) on what might be called the economy of the papyrus roll: it turns out that the archive's documents were commonly written *transversa charta* on papyrus rolls that, in the pagarch's office (p. 158), had before use been sliced so as to create half rolls (as pictured, pp. 38-39).

This is a magnificent edition. Blemishes are rare. In 5, it is not clear why open brackets are not supplied at the beginnings of lines 1, 2, 4, and 10, or why in 15 and 17 (e.g., the end of line 3 and the corresponding lemma in the commentary) some of the line ends do not have closing brackets. In Tav. 9 the image of 10 is upside down. There is a reversal of identities between the physical description of 26 *recto* and *verso* and the corresponding images on Tav. 20. I mention such items not to carp, but to prove that I have read this volume with due care, not to mention profit and pleasure. The editor's style is personable, witty, and honest. The volume's layout requires, however, some perhaps unnecessary repetitions, particularly when content summaries closely paraphrase translations just given. There is a negligibly irksome tendency to double dip when references are given using both "ad esempio" and "etc." The indices include the welcome index of names and subjects mentioned above as well as an index of symbols and abbreviations (pp. 275-277) that seems a quaint but useful throwback to some papyrus editions of old. These include *PLond.* 4, to which *CPR* 30 is now an eminently worthy companion.

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Anne Boud'hors, James Clackson, Catherine Louis, and Petra Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt: Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson* (P.Clackson). American Studies in Papyrology 46. Cincinnati: American Society of Papyrologists, 2009. xxiv + 249 pages + 24 plates. ISBN 978-0-9700591-8-5.

Thirteen months after the all-too-early death of Sarah Clackson, papyrologists gathered in Oxford to honor her in a symposium. The results, with additional papers, are presented in this volume. There are fifty texts (twenty-four ostraca and twenty-six papyri) in nine batches and ten essays. All texts and essays make important contributions to Coptic papyrology, and most are related to the famous monastery of Apollo at Bawit with which Sarah Clackson's name will forever be linked. In his introductory appreciation (pp. xi-xiv) Roger Bagnall sums up her life's work as "mainstreaming Coptic papyrology" (xii), and this is also the aim of the volume in her memory.

Building on work in Sarah Clackson's *Nachlass*, Anne Boud'hors presents Bawit ostraca in the Heidelberg collection (*O.Clackson* 1-17, pp. 1-22) that interestingly mix Coptic- and Greek-language formulae in documenting seasonal transport of quantities of wheat and, in one case, of wine. In two texts the "Athenian artaba" is employed, an unusual measure that is also found in *P.Clackson* 47.¹

In *O.Clackson* 18-33 (pp. 23-48) Alain Delattre revisits the *etmoulon* ostraca to add to our corpus of such texts and further elucidate the grain transport in Egypt over a nine-year span; he usefully provides (pp. 40-48) a table of all known texts. In his section 3.6 (pp. 29-30) he discusses possible meanings for the term $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon$ yet does not add that Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* 190a gives Sahidic $\text{C}\text{H}\text{N}\epsilon$, $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon$, $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\text{H}$ as meaning "[wooden chest]," which may be helpful.²

¹ Right at the beginning of Boud'hors' paper occurs a difficulty that should be remarked on. For citations the volume uses the author's surname-plus-year form, with each paper being followed by a bibliography giving the works cited in this form. However, straight away on p. 1, in n. 1, we find "Delattre 2007," which is not in the paper's bibliography. It is A. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d'apa Apollô de Baouît* (Brussels 2007). The same lack of explanation occurs in several other papers – indeed, the same error occurs in *P.Clackson* 50 on p. 127 – and should have been remedied by more thorough copyediting.

² In n. 11 and elsewhere "Youtie and Worrell 1942" (not in the bibliography) should be *O.Mich.Copt.Etmoulon*.

Terry Wilfong offers another letter by the monk Frange (*O.Clackson* 34, pp. 49-51) in Ann Arbor, in the commentary to which he hints that more Frange texts are now coming to light.

P.Clackson 35 (pp. 52-60) lets James Clackson collaborate in Sarah's work at Yale to publish a fascinating Greek-Coptic glossary of words found in and around a farm and its farmhouse, seemingly from Middle Egypt and for school use.³ It may be of post-conquest date; an image is available on the Beinecke Library website.

Alain Delattre returns with Nikolaos Gonis to the post-conquest Greek poll-tax receipts from the Bawit monastery (*P.Clackson* 36-43, pp. 61-71), written on reused other sides of papyrus slips.

The letter *P.Clackson* 44 published with extensive commentary by Hans Förster (pp. 72-101) is identified by him as belonging to the "Shenoute archive" (see *CPR* 30) and written by the same theologically-minded person who also wrote *P.Harrauer* 57. It mentions the use of "a little piece of the garment of Apa Severus" as a healing relic (p. 73, l. 15; cf. *P.Paramone* 14). Perhaps Severus of Antioch is meant. He spent the last twenty years of his life at the Enaton monastery outside of Alexandria, making it and later his tomb there into a miaphysite pilgrimage destination. "The city" (τηποις, l. 16) the recipient of the letter is said to have left another piece in could have been Alexandria.⁴

In *P.Clackson* 45-46 (pp. 102-121) Petra Sijpesteijn also uses *Nachlass* material to publish a trilingual tax demand issued to the Bawit monastery in AD 753, from the Michaelides material now in Cambridge. A Greek indiction tag introduces an eleven-line Arabic letter from a Muslim official to John son of Isidore of the "people" (*ahl*) of the Apa Apollo monastery, mandating a *jizya* of two *solidi* to be paid to the collection official of "your village" (*qiryat*) in six installments (i.e. one *trimesion* per instalment). This "writing" (*kitāb*) is immediately followed by a ten-line Coptic version, itself prefaced by the Greek σὺν Θεῷ. Here too the monastery is termed a "village" (ΤΙΜΗ). The Coptic, not just a rendering of the Arabic, contains, in the context of a sealed *entagion*, the additional and odd phrase (l. 19) ὡς ἂν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπεὶ θάνατον ἔσται, here translated "it is for a man if he were to die" (p. 113). This is rather a (gnomic) aorist affirmative, "it happens that, as far as a human being is concerned, he dies" or "a man is mortal" – possibly implying that if one *boethos* dies another will carry out the assignment. This document, dating from one to four years before Grohmann's trilingual of 754-757, is splendid evidence for how, over time (on p. 104 read "seventh" not "eighth century"), individual Christian tax-

³ Cf. L. MacCoull in *Glotta* 64 (1986) 253-257.

⁴ For the striking Trinitarian closing formula in ll. 22-23 compare L. MacCoull in *Tyche* 6 (1991) 109-111 and J.-L. Fournet in *Études coptes XI* (Paris 2010) 126-127.

payers assumed direct tax responsibility and dealt with the Muslim authorities one-on-one, and how monasteries came to function as intermediaries (pp. 106-107) as, over further time, Christian notables were prevented from acting in such an intermediary role (pp. 108-111) between Christian farmers and Muslim pagarchs. Just over four years later the back of this document was used for a Greek tax receipt for less than a quarter *solidus*, edited by Nikolaos Gonis as *P.Clackson* 46.⁵

Sofia Torallas Tovar in *P.Clackson* 47 gives us a fragmentary Coptic Bawit document from Montserrat mentioning both "Athenian" artabas of wheat and 2 1/3 *solidi*. She returns with Klaas Worp to present, also from Montserrat, three Greek Bawit texts as *P.Clackson* 48-50 (pp. 124-128): a list of names with money amounts, a bread receipt, and a tax fragment that still bears a clay seal. Its standing female figure (Plate XXIV) may be either a Nike or an angel (thanks to J. Cotsonis for his sigillographic knowledge).

Malcolm Choat, in "Property Ownership and Tax Payment in Fourth-Century Monasticism" (pp. 129-140), goes in search of beginnings, asking "were there monastic estates to administer in the first century of monasticism in Egypt?" (p. 129). Did individual monks or their institutions *qua* "legal persons" control the property and bear tax liability? How dependent are we on the nature of our early evidence? He lists just nine documents, including the much-studied references to the Nile boats owned by the Pachomian federation. Most fourth-century attestations, though, are of monks acting on their own behalf in their own transactions, and seemingly self-responsible for taxes. By the fifth century monasteries appear as taxpaying, landowning collective entities.

Jean-Luc Fournet ("Conversion religieuse dans un graffiti de Baouit? Revision de SB III 6042," pp. 141-147) returns to a Greek-language Bawit wall graffiti previously interpreted as evidence for name change by a Christian to an Islamic name following his conversion to Islam. After reviewing earlier readings and interpretations, Fournet rereads the text (p. 145) as "O Lord God Jesus Christ, be our help. George son of the late Sergius, client (*mawla*) of Abdallah son of Amr. Moager son of the late Eeglan, from Saleen." The present reviewer remains in part unconvinced. Fournet seems on the right track reading $\mu\alpha\upsilon\lambda\epsilon$ (l. 6) as *mawla*, "client": after the conquest, becoming a client of a Muslim patron was often a safety measure for a Christian who otherwise might have had something to lose.⁶ But in no known epigraphic text, on a wall, a seal, an object (such as a reliquary), or a tombstone, can $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (ll. 5, 9-10) mean "deceased" or "the late" ("défunt"): that was $\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or [X] $\mu\eta\acute{\nu}\eta\mu\eta\varsigma$. The in-

⁵ In l. 2 for $\mu\delta$ read $\mu\eta$, also in the comment on p. 121; on p. 114, in n. 65, read "Diem 1984."

⁶ Cf. P.M. Sijpesteijn in *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge 2007) 454.

scription must be simply, in familiar fashion, “O Lord God Jesus Christ, be a helper to George son of Sergius who has become the *mawla* of Abdallah son of Amr, and (to) Moager son of Eeglan, who has become (the *mawla*) of Abu Saleen” (for the last, objections on p. 143 notwithstanding).

Further evidence for a practice for which monasteries were known, commemoration of the departed (especially benefactors), is collected by Jutta Henner in “Die anaphorischen Interzession für die Verstorbenen nach den frühen Zeugnissen koptischer Liturgie” (pp. 148-158). The numerous and varied eucharistic liturgies used in late antique and early medieval Egypt, in both Greek and Coptic, ring many changes on the theme of asking that the departed find rest in paradise, and show how deeply liturgical language was rooted in that of the Bible.⁷

Martin Krause returns to the Bawit documents he has worked on for over fifty years, the ninth-century sales of monastic cells (“Die koptischen Kaufurkunden von Klosterzellen des Apollo-Klosters von Bawit aus abbasidischer Zeit,” pp. 159-169), recounting the history of excavations and document finds. The papyri mention locations for monastic trades such as bakeries and workrooms. Apparently the original arrangement under which the monastery’s *diakonia* owned the totality of the site changed over time to one under which individual monks were the owners of their cells, buying and selling them, with the proviso that on the death of one owner possession of the property reverted to the *diakonia* which could in turn resell it to another buyer in order to generate more income for the ongoing support of the foundation.⁸

Bentley Layton, known for his Coptic linguistic and grammatical work, has lately become interested in Shenoute’s Panopolite monastery and its way of life. In “The Monastic Rules of Shenoute” (pp. 170-177) he searches through Shenoute’s many texts to find elements of what would have been his “Rule,” a rule both like and unlike those of Benedict and Pachomius – not a separate text but one to be gleaned from many directives embedded in discourses termed “canons.” The archimandrite (a) gives commands and (b) proclaims curses on those enacting certain behaviors. He also seems familiar with earlier regulations laid down by predecessors. Layton hypothesizes that Shenoute owned a copy of Pachomius’s rules in some form (p. 172).

Turning back to finance, Tomasz Markiewicz (“The Church, Clerics, Monks and Credit in the Papyri,” pp. 178-204) investigates Sarah Clackson’s idea that monasteries functioned as banks for the laity, usefully assembling

⁷ Confusingly, p. 149 n. 12 both cites “P.Ness.” and gives “Kraemer 1958,” the latter not in the bibliography.

⁸ Krause does not cite A. Papaconstantinou’s *Culte des saints in Egypte* (Paris 2001) for Apollo, or M. Choat in *JbAC* 45 (2002) with reference to *apotaktikos*.

tables (pp. 191-202) of all attested instances of church institutions as creditors (18) and as debtors (7), and of clerics and monks as private creditors (35) and as private debtors (21), as well as 42 cases of lending and borrowing within monasteries. Houses did lend to individuals and did borrow to be able to pay their land tax; loans by and to monks and clerics tended to be for mostly small sums; interest was charged and paid. Transactions extended to the capital, as seen in *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67126 of 541 and *P.Oxy.* 63.4397 of 545 (the latter also discussed by Urbanik below). The Bawit monastery was indeed a great practitioner of both in-house and external-village lending, providing local farmers with working capital (p. 191), the way metropoleis did for their areas. Such a role may underlie the way the position of Egyptian monasteries developed into one resembling the “minsters” or “monastic towns” of early medieval Britain.⁹

T.S. Richter next pulls together in masterly fashion the evidence for monasteries’ and monks’ leasing activities, especially at Bawit (“The Cultivation of Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt: Some Evidence from Coptic Land Leases and Related Documents,” pp. 205-215), and usefully lays out the formulary for a so-called *epitrope* or document authorizing sowing (p. 206 n. 12). He explains *P.Mon.Apollo* 26 (on p. 209 for “artabas” read “arouras”) as a lease by a monastery to some of its own monks with intent to exclude the possibility of sublease to others. He also further queries the notion of the *aparche* collection: was it a tithe or literally “first fruits” of produce? It might have been, specifically, income from subtenants (p. 211).

Georg Schmelz provides, from papyri in London, the dossier of a Fayum monastery (“Das Archiv des Archimandriten Apa Georgios,” pp. 216-224), a house that probably flourished in the eighth/ninth centuries and was headed by Apa George, also styled its “holy father” and ΠΡΟСТАΤΗΣ (but there might have been more than one archimandrite in office at one time). A dispute was settled in the ἱλαστήριον, translated here as “Altar bzw. *sanctuarium*” (p. 220), also seemingly synonymous with the *bema* of monastic churches where disputes were brought. The reference in the book list *P.Fay.Copt.* 44 to books being “diacritical-pointed” (Ϸϳϳϳ) makes us conjure up a large house scriptorium ca. AD 800; a future task would be to try identifying its products.

Jakub Urbanik analyzes the aforementioned Oxyrhynchite document from the Apa Hierax monastery and its dispute with the local magnates, the Apions (“*P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397: The Monastery Comes First, or Pious Reasons Before Earthly Securities,” pp. 225-235). In what capacity did lay and/or religious

⁹ Cf. C. Cubitt, “Pastoral Care and Religious Belief,” in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c.500-c.1000*, ed. P. Stafford (Oxford 2009) 395-413, at 395-396, 401-402. On p. 180 read “Nicea” not “Nice”; and on p. 188 read the number as “669” not “699.”

persons visiting Constantinople legally represent monasteries back in Egypt, and who were the representatives? In this case too a monastery is seen to be a substantial creditor resorting to legal means to recoup its money.¹⁰

Finally, Ewa Wipszycka re-examines documents that reflect how monastic ownership of immovable property was secured and transferred (“Monks and Monastic Dwellings: *P.Dubl.* 32-34, *P.KRU* 105 and BL Ms.Or. 6201-6206 Revisited,” pp. 236-244). In her view, villages trumped bishops as the deciding force in the location of new foundations.¹¹ She also underlines how the transfer of monastic residences was formally regulated so as to keep things safely “in the family.” At volume’s end are indices to and plates of the texts published.

As one who in 1969 envisioned a project on the economic role of monasteries in Byzantine Egypt, the present reviewer is delighted to see that this kind of work is “mainstreamed” today. The subject is now being studied with modern technology in other Mediterranean regions (e.g., F. Kondyli, “Tracing Monastic Economic Interests and their Impact on the Rural Landscape: The Case of Late Byzantine Lemnos,” *DOP* 64 [2011] 129-150), and one hopes that such work can be done for Byzantine Egypt as well.

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¹⁰ On p. 232 read “zygostates”; on p. 233, “Multi-.”

¹¹ See also L. MacCoull in the *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor 2010) 449-454.

Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary* (*P.Oxy.* 1802 + 4812). Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009. 176 pages + 13 plates. ISBN 978-3-11-020693-7.

It is generally thought that the Greeks had little interest in the languages of “others,” and that their language was resistant to interference from other languages. Texts such as the one presented here by Francesca Schironi speak against this assumption.

The text known as *P.Oxy.* 1802 + 4812 is a fully alphabetized glossary containing “Persian,” “Babylonian,” and “Chaldaean” terms, as well as dialectal and literary Greek terms. Since these terms derive from specialized literary works, the entries are rich in quotations from ancient authors, most of them lost. These include Berossus, Apollodorus, and even Aristotle, among others.

The book reviewed here is a reedition of the papyrus from Oxyrhynchus known since 1922 (edited by A.S. Hunt in *P.Oxy.* 15), completed with fragments edited later on (in *P.Oxy.* 71). Edited at a time when papyrologists were on the lookout for classical texts, it went practically unnoticed, as a piece of technical literature. A thorough analysis was needed, and it is performed in this work by Schironi (S.).

The edition is preceded by chapters of great significance. First a brief description of the manuscript (5-7), mainly its palaeography and text layout. Since the glossary was copied on the verso of a reused papyrus roll, more bibliographical description is unnecessary. S. goes on to analyse the contents of the glossary in terms of dialects and languages involved and authors quoted, in a choppy but useful chapter (8-12). In the chapter on dating and origin (13-19) S. provides a well documented discussion on the possible author of the glossary, presenting the two most plausible hypotheses, a Pergamene (suggested by the contents of the glossary) and an Alexandrian (suggested by the relations of our text with Hesychius and Alexandrian glossography). S. convincingly argues for an Alexandrian origin.

Chapter 5 (20-27) deals with the Near Eastern glosses and the problem of their acquisition. Here the author shows how closely this study borders on other disciplines and how necessary collaboration is with specialists from other fields. One of the questions addressed is the labelling of the languages themselves: what is the Persian, Babylonian, or Chaldean language? Perhaps these languages were not even distinguished by the Hellenistic Greeks, including the author of this glossary. S. does not engage much in a discussion concerning what other sources have to say about the definition of these languages, such as Isidore’s *De linguis gentium*, or the mention of χαλδαϊκὰ γράμματα

in Greek authors, or even the use of these names of languages in Hesychius (as later on p. 46 in a different context) and other glossographers, but instead refers to works which analyse the subject (e.g. Schmidt 1992). The mechanics of acquisition of these glosses is also discussed in this chapter. Because these glosses were certainly quoted from other Greek literary works, we still need to figure out how they reached their authors in the first place. The particular cases are discussed later on in the commentary to the text.

Chapter 6 (28-42) is central to the book in the sense that it argues for the value of this text and the place it deserves in Greek glossography as an exceptional and unique text which contributes immensely to our knowledge in this field (see also, by the same author, “Lexical Translations in the Papyri: Koine Greek, Greek Dialects, and Foreign Languages” in *The Language of the Papyri*, ed. T.V. Evans and D. Obbink [Oxford 2010] 267-284.). S. compares the text with other contemporary glossaries on papyrus – fragmentary material. Chapter 7 on authorship (43-52) is also a well documented discussion of the possible authors and where this glossary fits in the different traditions of antiquity.

The edition with English translation on facing pages follows, based on the previous editions of the fragments, reviews, and later studies. But the most interesting part of the book is the commentary on the text, where the author weaves together, competently and intelligently, fragmentary information of all kinds relevant to the particular glosses: palaeographical remarks, discussions of lost works, and etymologies of all relevant languages, including Indo-European roots. The author acknowledges whenever she has received support from Assyriologists and other specialists to try and solve the riddles of the text. These comments include not only assumptions about the origin of words, but also about the transcription into the Greek alphabet of foreign words and about the modes of acquisition of these glosses.

In general, I enjoyed the exposition of all relevant facts, authors, and traditions, and of plausible and impossible explanations for etymologies, allowing S. sometimes to reach only partial conclusions, but in any case confronting the reader with all the evidence. It is a learned work, extensively documented, marred only by frequent typos. It is interesting not only for papyrologists but also for classical philologists, those interested in dialectology, language contact, paraliterary texts, school practices and lexicography, and the Greek view of “the other.” This book and the text it presents are important contributions to knowledge in many of these fields.

A. Magnani, *Il processo di Isidoro. Roma e Alessandria nel primo secolo*. Monografie dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici 57. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009. vii-xi + 283 pages. ISBN 978-88-15-13434-9.

This is the first monograph on the trial of Isidorus. The book is published in a series of the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, which includes nine monographs on the ancient world out of a total of sixty-two so far released. The book articulates in thirteen chapters, plus introduction, conclusions and index. It was released a little after A. Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge 2008), the subject of which to some extent overlaps Magnani's work. It must be assumed that Magnani could not acknowledge Harker's book.

Chapter one / part one, pp. 1-6, collects all the papyri that composed the so-called dossier of Isidorus: *W.Chr.* 14, *P.Brit.Lib.* 2785, *P.Berol.* 8877, *P.Cairo.* 10488; the author lists for each text the available editions. The section concludes with an introduction to the literature of the *Acta Isidori* as introduced by Musurillo. Chapter one / part two, pp. 6-30, discusses all the texts within a bibliological and paleographical frame. *P.Oxy.* 8.1089 and *P.Giss.* 46 (the author does not reckon the recent editions of this text, published as *P.Yale* 2.107 and *P.Giss.Lit.* 47), not included in the list of part one, are commented here. The chapter concludes with the images, transcription, translation and commentary of all the texts.

Chapter two, "Acta Isidori. Considerazioni bibliologiche e filologiche" (pp. 31-40), chapter three, "Lo spazio letterario. Tra letteratura di consumo e libellistica" (pp. 41-48), and chapter four, "Il problema dell'autore" (pp. 49-58), discuss the *Acta Isidori* from the starting point of the dating of the available texts. The author privileges the literary side of the texts according to one of the guidelines traced already by Musurillo and amplified in recent decade of cultural approach to ancient documents. According to the author, these texts are private copies kept by individuals who wanted to keep the historical memory of events of the past. It is the author's opinion that, although there must have existed an original draft coming from the trial minutes, the texts are manipulated and must therefore be read as pieces of literature. The impossibility to identify the author is even more aggravating.

Chapter five, "Equilibri politici e gruppi etnici nell'Egitto tardo-tolemaico e protoromano" (pp. 59-78), starts a sequence of chapters aiming at providing a historical background to the papyri. The author navigates the relationship between the different ethnic groups in Alexandria, but fails to fulfill the expectations announced in the title, since his overview stops at the second century BCE.

In chapter six, “Due aspetti politico-sociali dell’Egitto provincia dell’impero romano: il sistema contributivo e la cittadinanza alessandrina” (pp. 79-110), the authors discuss the civic and political organization of Alexandria during the early Roman empire. The Roman authorities willingly and ambiguously left a legislative void left by the Ptolemaic abolition of the *boule*, and the Jews tried to fill that void. The Romans, according to the author, profited from the Jewish financial support, and the Jews used this relationship to improve their civic and political situation. The goal would be to acquire the Alexandrian citizenship in order to avoid the payment of the poll-tax.

Chapter seven, “Antigiudaismo in terra egizia. I papyri come documento di polemica” (pp. 111-128), goes back to the *Acta*, that the author introduced under a literary standpoint in the first four chapters. Here, however, the focus is on their testimony on anti-jewish attitudes in Egypt and Alexandria. The author’s focus is on the exclusive character of Jewish religion, which, by emphasizing its sense of superiority, encouraged the diffidence of the Greeks. While the Jews used Greek culture to gain access to the highest governmental posts, the Greeks felt their political positions and cultural identity threatened by the risk of total Jewish assimilation. The Greeks would express then their negative feeling against the Jews through the *Acta*.

Chapter eight, “Alessandria nella prima metà del I secolo D.C.: cronistoria” (pp. 129-140), covers the years 30s of the first century C.E. in the wake of the argument already submitted in the previous chapter.

In chapter nine, “Il processo: le accuse nei papyri” (pp. 141-154), the author works on some of the documents, in particular *P.Oxy. 8.1089* and the *Acta Isidori*, in order to outline the accusations. The author does not specify to whom these accusations should be addressed, but from the chapter (pp. 151ff.) it emerges that the author is looking for the accusation against the Jews. The Jews were accused to wanting the destruction of the world and to be disease, something that according to the author was a factor both in the literary and in the official political environments. The chapter closes with the author’s thought on the historical and propagandistic components of these documents that recall the larger discussion of chapters one-four. In this case, however, the author declares that he detected external historical connections, which unfortunately he does not discuss (p. 153).

Chapter ten, “Le ‘altre’ voci del dramma. Uno sguardo alla letteratura giudaico-ellenistica” (pp. 155-158), briefly introduces the reader to the fact that also Jewish literature on the subject of the Jewish presence in Egypt and Alexandria is available, but in the form of treatises and not papyrological documentation.

It is with chapter eleven, “Filone di Alessandria, un posto per Israele tra le grandi civiltà” (pp. 159-211), that the author starts to explain what in his opinion is the role of Jewish-Hellenistic literature in his discussion. He considers four treatises of Philo, the *Vita Moses*, the *De Josepho*, the *In Flaccum* and the *Legatio ad Gaium*. The author had already introduced his frame of interpretation in previous chapters: for him, Philo’s work, especially the *Vita Moses* and the *De Josepho*, is the best example of Greek culture use for the promotion of Jewish political predominance in Alexandria and Egypt. The texts are not analyzed but only paraphrased.

Chapter twelve, “La data e i personaggi del processo. Status quaestionis e note di aggiornamento prosopografico” (pp. 213-217), submits data on some of the characters mentioned in the papyri.

Chapter thirteen, “‘Prima’ e ‘dopo’ Filone. La polemica nel suo formarsi e nel suo evolversi nella testimonianza della Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate e del *Contra Apionem* di Flavio Giuseppe” (pp. 221-269), concludes the monograph with the discussion of the two mentioned treatises. The author outlines the difference between them, especially by noticing that the *Letter* does not present any sign of inner city ethnic or political polemic, something that become central in the *Contra Apionem*. Also in this case, the two texts are mostly paraphrased.

The conclusions (pp. 271-272) do not add anything to what the author writes in the body of the book. An index of scholars’ personal names (pp. 273-283) closes the monograph. There is no bibliographical list.

It is very sad to say that this book betray the expectations that originate from the title. This is not a study of the trial of Isidorus. Out of the 283 pages of the monograph, only fourteen, chapter nine, relate to the papyri of Isidorus, and yet in a disappointing way. The author limits himself to paraphrasing the texts, and searches only for the accusations against the Jews. Important questions are not raised: *W.Chr.* 14.2.1-5 clearly states that in that trial Isidorus was the accuser and Agrippa was the defendant; can the author submit any discussion about the nature of the accusation? Or the reason why eventually Isidorus, and not Agrippa, seems to be under trial and is eventually condemned? Is there any evidence of the accusation against Isidorus? The author admits that he found connection between these texts and external historical evidence; why is none of that shared with the reader? One would expect an analytical discussion of those issues in a monograph that declares to be devoted to the trial of Isidorus. In reality, it seems that the author is interested only in a few lines of these texts: P.Berol. 8877.2.11-13, where Agrippa points out that no emperor has ever asked the Jews to pay the poll-tax. This line, and not all the papyri involving Isidorus, seems to be the driving force of the entire monograph.

More than 250 pages are devoted to the difficult relationship between the Jews and the Greek, and the Greco-Egyptian (but with less emphasis) in Alexandria. But unfortunately the author does not submit any original argument on the subject, as he bases himself exclusively on secondary sources. Nothing of what he says about the Jews and Alexandrian citizenship, the poll-tax, and the relationship with the Roman power, is new. There is never the effort to involve the reader in a fresh discussion based on primary sources. Finally, the reader cannot escape notice the constant effort throughout the monograph to justify the Greek anti-Jewish reaction by describing the Jews as an affluent and powerful group that tries to overcome the cultural and political competition and eventually the world.

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Richard L. Phillips, *In Pursuit of Invisibility: Ritual Texts from Late Roman Egypt*. American Studies in Papyrology 47. Durham, NC: American Society of Papyrologists, 2009. xvi + 199 pages + 7 plates. ISBN 978-0-9700591-9-2.

A compelling question rests at the heart of investigations of invisibility spells: what exactly did such spells seek to accomplish? Did the rituals promise to make their users inconspicuous, able to proceed unnoticed by others, or did they promise them true invisibility, such that their very presence would be erased to the eye of observers? Exploration of these invisibility spells may not only explain the materials themselves, but may also suggest what ancient practitioners and clients of such spells thought such rituals could do and thus offer us a window into the thought-world behind such ritual materials. While the topic clearly invites reflection and has much to contribute to current debates about the nature of so-called “magic,” Phillips notes that the idea of invisibility has been generally overlooked in scholarship and that his study fills the gap.

This revision of the author’s 2002 dissertation (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) presents a thorough study of the motif of invisibility in the Graeco-Roman world, exploring literary context as well as ritual practices that promise the ability to move about unseen by others. The book begins with an investigation of invisibility before delving into sample texts with images, translation, and commentary.

In the prolegomena, Phillips situates the study of particular invisibility spells (*P.Oxy.* 58.3931, *PGM* I 222-231, *PGM* I 247-262, *PGM* VII 619-622, *PGM* XIII 234-237, *PGM* XIII 267-269, and *PGM* XIII 270-277) in recent research on magic and places the texts within their ancient context. Through comparison with literary texts that also depict the human quest for invisibility, Phillips seeks to understand how the literary representation of invisibility relates to the invisibility spells, how these spells imagine invisibility to function, and who would have sought it out. Phillips is aware of the problems of using the term “magic” and says that he uses it with caution, foregrounding the Egyptian context in which the word magic (*heka*) should be understood.

Phillips then briefly traces the literary representations of techniques for humans to acquire invisibility in Greek, Roman, and Egyptian literature. He cites recent work by Faraone and Dickie who (even with skepticism) use literature to illumine ritual practice. Phillips argues that this must be done with caution, since it is unclear how reliable literary depictions are when it comes to ritual phenomena. From his survey, he concludes that there is no real match between the literary images (e.g., using tools such as a cap and a ring to acquire invisibility) and the invisibility spells of the *PGM* (even though rings are used

in other spell collections as tools for invisibility). On the other hand, Pliny's descriptions in the *Natural History* (for example 38.39.115, cited by Phillips on p. 15) do appear broadly reminiscent of the evidence of the spells, although it is unclear just how far to take the parallels. Phillips also compares the PGM invisibility spells with those preserved in sources in Egyptian such as the *Kephalaia*. From this comparison he concludes that the Egyptian context is essential for making sense of these spells.

Next Phillips seeks to categorize these spells more precisely, distinguishing those that use a "component – either *logos* or *praxis* – employed elsewhere for other purposes" (p. 21) from those in which invisibility is not the main goal. From this distinction, Phillips moves on to pose the key question: what do these spells purport to do exactly? He argues that such spells allow us to see how practitioners perceived invisibility and to relate this to rituals in other types of spells, which in turn allows us to evaluate similar features in literature.

Finally, Phillips considers the context and the practitioners, arguing that users of these spells seek invisibility not to become divine, but as part of another aim. He goes on to consider the various categories of users of these spells that occur in literature, from temple priests to wise women to divine men and so on, prioritizing the literary data, because the spells themselves provide little direct evidence for their users.

After the prolegomena, Phillips provides the text of seven invisibility spells with introduction, commentary, and bibliography. The notes and discussion found in this section are full of interesting material, and Phillips' commentary connects the particulars of these ritual texts with a wide array of literature (from the Elijah narrative in the Septuagint to scholarship on "magic" and performative speech by, e.g., Tambiah and beyond in just a couple of pages).

Overall, this book succeeds in providing a fresh perspective on our evidence concerning invisibility spells. Phillips takes the position in his prolegomena that the ritual evidence should be considered first and not subordinated to the literary evidence, but it was puzzling to turn the page and find him exploring the literary depictions of techniques used by humans to gain invisibility first. Phillips claims that this is consistent with his goal of finding out what invisibility spells imagine they will achieve and how they line up with the literary image. This seems to undermine his goal of taking the spells on their own terms without prioritizing the literary evidence. In the section where Phillips categorizes the spells and differentiates those in which invisibility is a main goal from others in which it is a side element, he seems to execute his goal of prioritizing the spells over the literary evidence more successfully. Here he shows that invisibility in the spells was "clearly more than just a simple

vanishing act” (p. 24), and by including broader issues such as transformation, darkness, and blinding, he finds ways to illumine the literary texts as well.

The new critical editions of the invisibility spells provided by Phillips will be essential to any future studies of the topic. His up-to-date discussion of these texts will also be useful to students of *PGM* and other ritual materials not directly concerned with invisibility.

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Sarah L. Schwarz

Franziska Naether, *Die Sortes Astrampsychi. Problemlösungsstrategien durch Orakel im römischen Ägypten*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 3. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. xviii + 491 pages. ISBN 978-3-16-150250-7.

Although the title suggests a rather limited subject, thirteen fragmentary papyri from the third and fourth centuries AD, these papyri are used as a starting point for a much wider discussion. The papyri themselves are discussed in the central part of the work (pp. 62-278), around which a very wide web has been spun: not only did the *Sortes Astrampsychi* survive in adapted form during the Middle Ages and until the twentieth century, but other kinds of ancient and medieval oracles (not only oracles by lot) are also extensively discussed. As a result the book is somewhat ill-balanced. The reader finds a lot of unexpected information in unexpected places, and a casual user will probably miss most of it, the more so since the *Sachregister* (pp. 489-491) is too short for such a long and wide-ranging book with an opaque structure. The short conclusion of this long and multifaceted study does not really give a clue to the purpose of the author (pp. 428-431).

The first chapter, dealing with theoretical and methodological problems of defining magic, divination, and religion, offers a rather sketchy survey, quoting numerous scholars and theories, but does not contain a clear personal point of view. Parallels are given of oracles both in pharaonic Egypt and in classical Greece, including procession oracles in the New Kingdom, temple oracles in Delphi¹ and Dodona, Alexander's visit to Siwa, Lucian on Alexander of Abonoteichos, "speaking statues" (their existence is doubted on pp. 52-54), and even Egyptian letters and self-dedications to gods.

On pp. 18-21 a list of divination methods is given, where objects used (animal movements, smoke, dreams, texts) and methods applied (looking and interpreting natural phenomena, interpretation by an inspired person, oracle books, casting lots, letters to a god) are listed in a kind of random order. The left column, titled "divination method" largely overlaps with the "divination objects" of the right column, listing the same items under a more "scientific" name. It would have been far more useful to group the types of oracles according to divination methods rather than by objects. Different methods can also be combined, as in the *Sortes Astrampsychi* themselves, where casting of lots and consulting a book occur side by side.

¹ That, for Delphi, "private questions are not reflected in the literature" (p. 45) is contradicted by Plutarch, *Moralia* 408C, quoted on p. 138.

The second chapter (pp. 62-278) deals with the *Sortes Astrampsychi* in 21 subchapters of very uneven length (from a single page to over 50 pages). In the first of these ("Who was Astrampsychus?") the reader is brought into contact with *Napoleon's Book of Faith* (pp. 69-71), which is at best a far-away spin-off of the ancient oracle book. The list of thirteen papyrus fragments of the third to sixth centuries, on which the work is centered (pp. 77-79), is immediately followed by the medieval Byzantine manuscripts (pp. 79-80), which date from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries but are completely preserved. Ancient and medieval sources are discussed together, although this may sometimes be problematical, e.g. for the hemerology on p. 86 (was the seven day week already in use when the *Sortes Astrampsychi* were first written?) and for the role played by priests (the author is inclined to attribute the *Sortes Astrampsychi* to the same milieu as the ticket oracles but does not offer proof of this). The largest subchapter (pp. 204-278) subdivides the questions posed in the *Sortes Astrampsychi* into fifteen categories, such as health, love and family life, travelling, inheritance and property, and theft (which could be considered a subsection of property), and ends in a tentative "portrait" of the typical client. The absence of women seems to distinguish the *Sortes Astrampsychi* from the ticket oracles, but since the questions are anonymous in the case of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, this is perhaps of little importance: the gender could easily be adapted to a female client.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the medieval *Sortes Sangallenses* and the *Sortes Sanctorum* (which do have a few precursors in the papyri), whereas in Chapter 5 ("*Sortes im Zeitenlauf*") several other types of oracles by lot are discussed, in different periods, religions, and languages in a rather haphazard order (ending with "*Losorakel aus aller Welt*").

Chapter 6 discusses the so-called ticket oracles, mainly known from papyri (demotic, Greek, and Coptic). A list of these oracles is offered on pp. 362-365, according to the fifteen categories which the author has distinguished for the *Sortes Astrampsychi* on pp. 218-276. Hundreds of ticket oracles found recently in Tebtynis and addressed to Soknebtynis, are, however, still awaiting publication and may completely overturn this rather subjective order (and certainly the pie chart of the gods on p. 399). The link between the ticket oracles (most of them with the choice between positive and negative answer) and the book oracles of the Astrampsychus type is far from self-evident and is not proven by pointing out that the same questions return in both. The problem is raised again by a sensational recent discovery in the eastern desert (see H. Cuvigny, *Chiron* 40 [2010] 245-299: for the first time we now have ticket oracles found inside a temple with full-fledged answers as in the *astragalos* oracles of Asia Minor, discussed on pp. 318-328).

In the final chapter attention is given to official prohibition of oracles by pagan and Christian emperors (rather disorderly). It is typical for this book, however, that also measures against astrologers, alchemists, incubation dreams, and even the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* are discussed here, whereas Constantius' reaction against the oracle practice in Abydos leads to a subchapter on "Bes as an oracle god" (pp. 415-417), which is out of place here.

This book contains an extraordinary amount of information, not only on the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, but on all kinds of oracle practices, from the pharaonic period to the Middle Ages and even beyond, but it misses a clear purpose, and the information is often difficult to find.

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Willy Clarysse

Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplements 12. Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Administration and Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2009. xxxi + 645 Seiten. ISBN 978-83-925919-1-7.

Das Thema dieses voluminösen Buches, die Fremden im Ägypten des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends, hatte Jan Winnicki, wie er in dem auf Oktober 2008 datierten Vorwort mitteilt, seit vielen Jahren beschäftigt. In der kurzen Zeit, die ihm bis zu seinem Tode nach langer schwerer Krankheit im Februar 2009 noch verblieb, war es ihm noch möglich, die von seiner Kollegin Dorota Dzierzbicka erarbeitete englische Übersetzung der polnischen Originalversion durchzusehen, zur Erledigung der abschließenden Vorbereitungen für die Drucklegung sowie zum Lesen der Korrekturen hatte er keine Gelegenheit mehr. Man muß sowohl der Übersetzerin als auch den übrigen Kollegen des Verfassers von der Universität Warschau dafür dankbar sein, daß sie diese Aufgaben nach Kräften übernommen und, mit finanzieller Unterstützung durch staatliche Behörden, die Veröffentlichung ermöglicht haben.

Das Buch ist in zwei Teile gegliedert. Der erste, kleinere, beschäftigt sich mit den Fremden in der Zeit zwischen ca. 1500 und 1000 v.Chr. Das erste Kapitel „Egypt and neighbouring territories during the New Kingdom“ (S. 11ff.) zeigt die historischen Grundlagen auf, während das zweite mit der Überschrift „Foreigners in Egypt during the New Kingdom and their later whereabouts“ Hethiter (S. 43ff.), Syrer (S. 46ff.), Schasu (S. 66ff.), Tjeku (S. 69ff.), Libyer (S. 73ff.), Seevölker (S. 79ff.), Nubier (S. 85ff.) und andere, ethnisch nicht immer klar definierbare Bevölkerungsgruppen wie z.B. die Apiru (S. 90ff.) behandelt.

Besondere Hervorhebung verdient hier, wie Verf. auf Grundlage von T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, 1992, in übersichtlichen Tabellen die Funktionen aufzeigt, die Personen mit hurritischen und semitischen Namen ausübten (S. 47ff.), darunter auch solche im Dienst ägyptischer Götter (S. 54) und außerdem viele Beispiele für ägyptisch-nichtägyptische Doppelnamen von Fremden (S. 57) sowie gemischt semitische und ägyptische Namengebung innerhalb von Familien zusammenstellt (S. 57ff.).

Der zweite, naturgemäß weit umfangreichere Teil ist dem eigentlichen Thema der Untersuchung gewidmet, wobei besonders Gewicht auf Onomastik und Prosopographie gelegt wird. Einer Einleitung, in der die historische Entwicklung gezeichnet wird (Kapitel 3 „Egypt and neighbouring territories in the first millennium BC“ [S. 103ff.]), folgt eine umfangreiche, wertvolle Quel-

lendokumentation, in der sich die jahrelange Sammelarbeit des Verf.s manifestiert. In vier Kapiteln mit der Überschrift „Foreign population in Egypt in the first millennium BC. Groups coming from the North“ bzw. „(...) from the East/West/South“ wird das Material je nach Herkunft der Fremden in topographischer und onomastischer Anordnung katalogartig vorgestellt und ausgewertet.

Kapitel 4 behandelt Syrer (S. 145ff.), Juden (S. 180ff.; vgl. Näheres hier unten zu S. 189ff.), Aramäer (S. 259ff.), Phöniker (S. 275ff.), Idumäer (S. 294ff.), Araber (S. 306ff.), Hagriter (S. 340ff.), Kedariter (S. 348ff.), Nabatäer (S. 353ff.) und die von Plinius erwähnten *Autaei* (S. 363ff.),

Kapitel 5 die Trogodyten (S. 373ff.),

Kapitel 6 die libyschen Stämme, und zwar Meschwesch/Ma (S. 380ff.), Libu (S. 396ff.), Put (S. 403ff.), Massylier (S. 415ff.), *Samioi* (S. 419ff.), Bakaler (S. 421ff.), die in den griechischen Papyri zahlreich erwähnten Kyrenäer (S. 426ff.) und „Libyer“ (S. 449ff.), die in der Onomastik eine Rolle spielenden *Psylloi* (S. 454ff.) sowie die erst in der Spätantike bezeugten *Mastitai* und *Goniotai* (S. 460f.),

Kapitel 7 Nubier (S. 465ff.) und Blemmyer (S. 488ff.).

Auf die kurzen „final remarks“ (S. 497ff.) folgen eine umfangreiche Bibliographie (S. 501ff.) sowie detaillierte, äußerst hilfreiche Namen- und Quellenindices (S. 557ff.), für deren Erstellung der Benutzer den Herausgebern großen Dank schuldet.

Ob von vornherein geplant war, Perser, Karer, Zyprer und Griechen nicht mitzuberücksichtigen, da es sich bei den Heimatländern um keine unmittelbaren „Nachbarn“ Ägyptens handelt, oder ob dies aus anderen Gründen geschah, wird nicht mitgeteilt. Abgesehen davon, daß es im Falle der Griechen wohl zu umfangreichen Überschneidungen oder gar Duplizierungen mit C.A. La'da, *Foreign Ethnic in Hellenistic Egypt*, 2002, kommen würde, spielt möglicherweise auch der Umstand eine Rolle, daß man angesichts der vielen involvierten fremden Sprachen und Schriften leicht den Boden unter Füßen verlieren kann.

Was dem Benutzer rasch auffallen dürfte und besonders von Papyrologen und Althistorikern gewürdigt werden dürfte, sicher aber auch von vielen Demotisten und hoffentlich dem einen oder anderen Ägyptologen, ist die intensive Einbeziehung papyrologischer Quellen. Da Verf. seinem Werk aber ein völlig anderes Konzept zugrundelegte als der Rez. seinem *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* und im Unterschied zu letzterem die hellenistische Zeit in vollem Umfang mitberücksichtigte, ist dieses Vorgehen gerade auch in Anbetracht früherer Studien des Verf.s zur Fremdvölkeronomastik einerseits und zur ptolemäischen Militärgeschichte andererseits nicht überraschend, vielmehr durchaus konsequent und dem Gegenstand angemessen.

Rez. bittet, die folgenden Detailbemerkungen nicht als pietätlose, unbillige Kritik an einer unter schwierigen Umständen (sicher auch, was die Literaturbeschaffung angeht) entstandenen aner kennenswerten Leistung mißzuverstehen, sondern als das, was sie sein sollen, nämlich als Hinweise im Dienste der Sache und des Benutzers.

An versehentlich stehengebliebenen Konvertierungsfehlern, lapsus calamini in der Transkription ägyptischer Wörter und Eigennamen und Ähnlichem (vgl. die captatio benevolentiae der Herausgeber in ihrem Vorwort S. XI-XII) sind mir aufgefallen: S. 69, Z. 1 *Šw.t-Šr* → *Ḥw.t-Ḥr*; S. 181, Z. 3 von unten *YḤWDY* → *YHWDY*; S. 260, Z. 8 von unten *ʿrmy* → *ʿrmy*; S. 264 passim (in den Transkriptionen aus dem Aramäischen) *J* → *Y*; Z. 8, 9 und 10 in den Transkriptionen *H* → *H*; S. 270, 3. Absatz, Z. 3 *ŠEMEŠNURI* → *ŠMŠNWR*; S. 284, 3. Absatz, Z. 7: *Šmbrj* → *Šmrbi*; S. 291, Z. 6 *ʿLMN* → *ʿLNM*; S. 314, Z. 7 von unten *M-ʿit-ʿttn* „foul, corrupted“ in dieser Wiedergabe nicht möglich, gemeint ist offenbar arab. *mutaʿattin*; S. 340-342 häufig *Hkr* → *Hkr*; S. 362, Z. 4 *Tamudic* → *Thamudic*; S. 413 ult. *ibḥw* → *dbḥw*; S. 425, Z. 3 *ʿIr.t-r.r=w* → *ʿIr.t-ḥr-r.r=w* bzw. *ʿIr.t-ḥr-r=w*; S. 457, Z. 4 *Ḥr-m-ḥb* → *Ḥr-m-ḥb*; S. 467, Z. 14 *Sm3-ḥd.t* → *Sm3-bḥd.t*; S. 475, Z. 3 *P3-r-n-p3-ḥj3* → *P3-šr-n-p3-ḥj3*; S. 481, Z. 5 *Πακσιος* → *Πακύσιος*; S. 485, Z. 2 von unten *Thpnḥt* → *Thpnḥs*.

S. 49, letzter Absatz: Der Beleg für den „Hittite-Hurrian name Akiteshub (*ʿIktsb*)“ im kursivhieratischen P. Louvre E 3128 B, I 8 erscheint mir inzwischen äußerst fraglich; paläographisch plausibler ist *Tkrit* „Takelothis“.

S. 68, Z. 6-5 von unten: Die Bedeutung „Hirte“ für kopt. *ⲙⲱⲥ* findet sich auch schon beim demotischen Vorläufer *šs*; vgl. K.-Th. Zauzich, *Enchoria* 26, 2000, 187f.

S. 81ff.: Zum „Seevolk“ der Schardana vgl. noch G. Cavillier, *Aegyptus* 82, 2002, 67ff.; ders., *Gli Shardana nell'Egitto Ramesside*, 2005.

S. 104, Anm. 1: Zur Erzählung des Wenamun ergänze einen Hinweis auf B. U. Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun. Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*, OBO 209, 2005.

S. 115, Z. 7: Die vom Verf. schon früher (OLP 17, 1986, 25) vertretene Ansicht, *ʿnḥ* (stets mit Pflanzendeterminativ) im P. Rylands 9 bedeute hier in Zusammenhang mit der Syrien-Expedition Psammetichs II „unit“, ist unhaltbar. Auch wenn es in militärischem Zusammenhang seltsam erscheinen mag, wird man bei der traditionellen Analyse als „Blumenstrauß“ (des Amun und anderer Götter) bleiben müssen, vgl. Rez., *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands* 9, ÄAT 38, 1998, 350ff. und zum historischen Zusammenhang jetzt D. Kahn, „Some remarks on the foreign policy of Psammetichus II in the Levant (595-589)“, *Journal of Egyptian History* 1, 2008, 139-157, bes. 148ff. Ein Wort *ʿnḥ* mit der vom Verf. angenommenen Bedeutung ist weder demotisch noch neuä-

gyptisch belegt; vgl. A.R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, MÄS 6, 1964, 33f. (zu ^cnḥ n mš).

S. 147, Z. 4: *Hr-lmnt* bedeutet nicht „Servant of Lamintu“, sondern steht für ^cnḥ-lmnt „Lamintu lebe“ (wobei „Lamintu“ für *Nmrt* steht); vgl. ausführlich E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1980-2000, Korrekturen und Nachträge zu S. 882.

S. 175, Anm. 175: In der Quellenangabe ist „dem.“ zu streichen; es handelt es sich um keinen demotischen Papyrus.

S. 178, Z. 8-9: Die sechs aufgezählten Namensformen (Καλεέλ, Κελέλ u.ä.) werden von den Handbüchern von Preisigke und Foraboschi je nachdem als koptisch bzw. als ins 7. und 8. Jh. datierend ausgewiesen, die Angabe „first millenium BC“ ist also offensichtlich ein Lapsus. Die Bedeutung der zitierten Namensformen ist unklar, die Gottesbezeichnung *ēl* (wie in biblischen Namen vom Typ „Michael“) steckt aber sicherlich nicht darin.

S. 180ff.: Zu Juden in Ägypten vgl. D. von Recklinghausen, „Ägyptische Quellen zum Judentum“, ZÄS 132, 2005, 147-160 sowie hier unten zu S. 189ff. Zu Samaria im Fayum vgl. auch die Heidelberger Magisterarbeit von C. Kuhs, *Das Dorf Samareia im Fayum. Eine papyrologische Untersuchung*, 1996 (<http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/volltexte/1999/479/pdf/samareia.pdf>).

S. 186: Der aramäisch überlieferte Frauenname *TMT/TPMT* ist richtig als *Ta-mtr/Ta-p3-mtr*, gesprochen [tamēt, tapmēt] „Die des (heiligen) Stabes“ zu erklären; vgl. Rez., *Orientalia* 58, 1989, 222.

S. 187, Z. 5-6: Aram. *haila* (genauer *ḥailā*) ist der Status determinatus („die Garnison“), es sollte hier aber – in Analogie zu dem von Verf. ebenda zitierten *degel* – der Status absolutus *ḥail* gebraucht werden.

S. 189ff.: Einer auf *ProsPtol* 10 basierenden Liste der Personen, die in den Quellen explizit als Juden bezeichnet werden, folgen Auflistungen von Personen, bei denen es sich sehr wahrscheinlich um Juden handelt, wobei hier wiederum der Reihe nach Personen aus Papyri (S. 207ff.), Ostraka (S. 221ff., ausschließlich griechischen nach *CPJ* 1 und 2) und Grabstelen (S. 233ff.) aufgeführt werden. Bei den Grabstelen ist ihrerseits eine Unterteilung nach Tell Yahudiye (Leontopolis), Alexandria und Demerdash getroffen worden. Hieran schließen sich Ausführungen über Städte mit jüdischen Bevölkerungsanteilen im Delta, in Unterägypten, im Fayum und in Oberägypten an, wobei aus den papyrologischen und epigraphischen Quellen fallweise einschlägige Personennamen zitiert werden.

Daß Demotisches hier praktisch nicht berücksichtigt wird, obwohl der Verf. ja auch Demotist war und in anderen Teilen des Buches durchaus auch demotische Quellen heranzieht, hängt wohl mindestens zum Teil mit den in

der Einleitung erwähnten Umständen zusammen. So erschien B. Porten und A. Yardeni, „Two Aramaic Salt-tax Receipts by the Scribe Joseph“, *Enchoria* 29, 2004/5 [2007], 55-59 sicherlich zu spät, um noch mitberücksichtigt werden zu können. Daß in den obengenannten Listen der auf Ostraka bezeugten Juden (S. 221ff.) die demotischen Belege, wie sie für Edfu und Theben ja mehrfach bezeugt und schon seit längerem publiziert sind, nicht mit aufgenommen wurden, obwohl sie dem Verf. natürlich bekannt waren, wie aus seinen Verweisen (S. 248 Anm. 534) auf W. Clarysse, *JJP* 32, 2002, 7ff. und S. Honigman, *BASP* 40, 2003, 63ff. klar hervorgeht, ist schade. Ähnliches gilt mutatis mutandis für das Ostrakon aus Leontopolis mit einer Ziegelabrechnung, das an versteckter Stelle (S. 206 Anm. 363; vgl. auch W. Brunsch, *Orientalia* 50, 1981, 246 Anm. 1) erwähnt wird, auch wenn die Onomastik (*3brm*, *Šbtj*) nichts Neues bringt.

S. 207: Für den hier pauschal mit Anm. 367 zitierten, viele Namen von Juden enthaltenden umfangreichen aramäische Papyrus Cowley 81 vgl. B. Porten und A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* 3, 1993, 258ff. (besonders Z. 79ff.).

S. 290: Ein neues Zeugnis für die Präsenz von Phönikern in Mittelägypten stellt ein von E. Cruz-Urbe, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31, 2004, 23 Abb. 12 reproduziertes, bisher unidentifiziert und unbearbeitet gebliebenes Graffito dar.¹

S. 293f.: Ein weiterer mit „Melqart“ gebildeter theophorer Personenname ist mir von einem unpublizierten phönikischen Graffito aus Theben-West bekannt, dessen Kenntnis ich Edyta Kopp verdanke (*MLQRTYTN Milqartyatōn*, „Melqart hat gegeben“).

S. 317f.: Pthtēreus erinnert an das S. 492 besprochene Ptireus, doch dürfte die Ähnlichkeit auch in Anbetracht der riesigen geographischen Entfernung Zufall sein. Eine Ableitung von aram. *TWR* „Berg“ mit ägyptischem Artikel (S. 318) ist unwahrscheinlich.

S. 320 und Anm. 860: Zur Stele Louvre C 127 vgl. auch N. Bosson und S. H. Aufrère, *Égyptes ... L'Égyptien et le Copte*, 1999, Nr. 10 mit Abbildung.

S. 379ff.: Zum Thema „Libyer“, gerade auch im Hinblick auf die Onomastik, außerordentlich wichtig ist die noch größtenteils unpublizierte Dissertation von F. Colin, *Les Libyens en Égypte (XV^e siècle a.C. – II^e siècle p.C.)*. *Onomastique et histoire*, Bruxelles 1996. Da sie erst Ende 2006 vollständig ins Netz gestellt wurde (<http://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00120038/en/>), ist dem Verf. des rezensierten Buches kein Vorwurf daraus zu machen, daß sie ihm nicht mehr rechtzeitig bekannt wurde. Für die hieroglyphischen Inschriften

¹ Vom Hrsg. in der Bildunterschrift als „unrecognized script“ und auf S. 7 als „possibly Aramaic oder Carian“ bezeichnet. Ich danke Eugene Cruz-Urbe für die Übersendung einer digitalen Farbaufnahme.

der Libyer- und Kuschitenzeit vgl. jetzt die Textwiedergaben (mit Namen- und Quellenindices) in K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit 1: Die 21. Dynastie*, 2007; 2: *Die 22.-24. Dynastie*, 2007; 3: *Die 25. Dynastie*, 2009.

S. 394, 2. Absatz, Z. 3-4: *Qrf* ist kein libyscher Name, sondern ägyptisch als *Qr=f* „Er hat Zuflucht genommen (o.ä.)“ zu verstehen; vgl. H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, 1935, 335:25-29 und *Demot. Nb.* 979 (meist mit Nennung der Gottheit, z.B. *Qr=f-r/Ø-ḫmn* „Er hat Zuflucht genommen zu Amun“; *Qr=s-r-nt* „Sie hat Zuflucht genommen zu Neith“, aber auch ohne Nennung der Gottheit: *Qr=s*).

S. 398, Z. 11-12 und Anm. 83: Die maßgebliche Edition der Stele Brooklyn 67.119 ist K.A. Kitchen, *JARCE* 8, 1969/70, 64ff. und fig. 7; vgl. jetzt auch Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit* 2, 274 (18). A.a.O. (17) findet sich eine weitere, von Jansen-Winkeln erstmals hieroglyphisch transkribierte Schenkungsstele desselben Mannes (BM 73965)², wo der Name *Tr* und *Ti-rw*, d.h. *Tr* geschrieben ist, so daß auf der Brooklyn Stele vermutlich ebenfalls so zu lesen ist (*Tir*).

S. 415ff.: Die auf Spiegelberg zurückgehende, von Verf. übernommene Identifizierung *Mhswn* („Mehesun“) = *Massylio* beruht auf einer überholten Lesung der hieroglyphischen Schreibung. Da dort aber nur *Mhs* zu lesen ist (der angebliche *wn-Hase* ist ein Seth-Tier als Determinativ), ist besagter Gleichsetzung eine ausreichende Grundlage entzogen, s. K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, *ÄAT* 8/1, 1985, 112; 114; 115 Anm. 6.

S. 416, Z. 3: Der Titel „Königssohn des Ramses“ findet sich nicht auf der Statue Kairo CG 42218 (Anm. 151), sondern vielmehr auf der vom Verf. im nächsten Absatz besprochenen Abydos-Steile.

S. 419ff.: Der libysche Stamm der *Š3mḥn* wird auch in einer 2005 entdeckten hieratischen Steleninschrift aus Amheida/Dachla erwähnt, s. O. Kaper und R. Demarée, *JEOL* 39, 2005, 19ff. (und jetzt bei Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit* 2, 329). Diese Inschrift enthält auch eine Reihe neuer zweifellos libyscher Namen.

S. 421, Abschnitt 6, Z. 8ff.: Zwar sind *q* und *k* im Demotischen in der Regel keinesfalls beliebig austauschbar (dies gilt vielmehr häufig für *g* und *k*), bei Fremdnamen verhält sich die Sache aber phonetisch nicht ganz analog, so daß ein Wechsel *Bkn/Bqn* o.ä. „Bakaler“ nicht unmöglich ist. Für *n* als Wiedergabe von originalsprachlichem *l* vgl. oben zu S. 147.

² Außer dem dort genannten Literaturnachweis vgl. auch die Abbildung bei I. Shaw, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 2000, 344.

S. 455, Z. 3 und Anm. 429: Die Lesung *P3sl3l* ist von S. P. Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script* (...), *Studia Demotica* 5, 2001, 134 Nr. 158 [7] zu *P3-^cr^cr* korrigiert worden; es handelt sich dort also um eine Schreibvariante zu *P3-^cl^cl* *Demot. Nb.* 164.

S. 468ff.: Zu Kuschiten in Verwaltung, Kult und Militär vgl. Rez., „A Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography. Kushites in Priestly, Administrative and other Positions from Dynasties 25 to 26“, *Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 18, 2007, 139-161. Daß der Obermajordomus Harwa ein Kuschit war, wie Verf. auf Grund seines Aussehens annimmt, ist nicht zu erweisen; Vater, Mutter und Großvater väterlicherseits – und weitere Vorfahren sind nicht bekannt – tragen jedenfalls ägyptische Namen, während der Name *Hrw3* selbst nach A. Leahy, *CdÉ* 55, 1980, 43ff. (in der Bibliographie zitiert) libysch ist.

S. 475f.: Der Name *Bdj3sj* erscheint auch in der Außenschrift desselben Papyrus, die sein Besitzer E. Lüddeckens seinerzeit merkwürdigerweise nicht mitpublizierte, gräzisiert als Βιθυς,³ was zum verbreiteten thrakischen Namen Βιθυς zu stellen ist, vgl. P.M. Fraser et al., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* 4, 2005, 69ff.; D. Dana, *ZPE* 157, 2006, 131.

S. 479, Z. 3 und 5: Zu *Wkš* vgl. unten zu S. 480, Z. 10.

S. 480, Z. 5: Πανᾶς ist die reguläre Entsprechung von *Pa-n3* (*Demot. Nb.* 376), nicht von **Pa-nḥs*. S. 481 ist die Rede von mehrdeutigen Namensformen Πανᾶς, Πανᾶσις, Πινᾶς, „which we usually associate with Pan“. Die demotischen Schreibweisen wie auch die Existenz der femininen Analogiebildung *Ta-n3* (*Demot. Nb.* 1189) zeigen aber, daß diese Assoziation allenfalls subjektiv ist; objektiv handelt es sich um ägyptische Hypokoristika, die mit Pan nichts zu tun haben. Eine Mehrdeutigkeit scheint mir dagegen bei Pakysis, Pakysios u.ä. gegeben zu sein, denn gerade bei Namensträgern aus Dusch (Kysis) wäre naheliegenderweise damit zu rechnen, daß diese Namensformen als **Pa-kš* „Der von Kysis“ zu verstehen sind.

S. 480, Z. 10 und Anm. 73: Zu beachten ist, daß *P3-wgš* aus phonetischen Gründen trotz der von Verf. zitierten bilingualen Entsprechung keine korrekte Variante von *P3-igš* sein kann; es handelt sich um zwei verschiedene Namen, die etwa [*pwakš*] (Bedeutung unbekannt) und [*pekôš*] gesprochen wurden.

S. 482, Z. 1 der Namenliste: Ἀρνασις ist bilingual als Wiedergabe von *Hr-n^cš* „Horus ist stark“ belegt (*Demot. Nb.*, Korrekturen und Nachträge zu S. 822). Dies schließt zwar nicht aus, daß ein **Hr-p3-nḥs* in konvergierender Weise gräzisiert werden kann, mahnt aber doch zur Vorsicht.

³Für den Hinweis hierauf sowie die Bereitstellung einer Abbildung und einer vorläufigen Umschrift und Übersetzung danke ich Karl-Theodor Zauzich.

Ogleich es natürlich zu bedauern ist, daß es dem Verf. nicht beschieden war, letzte Hand an sein Werk anzulegen, stellt dieses auch im vorliegenden Zustand, besonders im Hinblick auf Onomastik, Prosopographie und Topographie, einen gewichtigen und unverzichtbaren Beitrag zum Thema dar.

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J.G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010. xvi + 264 pages. ISBN 978-0-691-142623.

Ptolemaic Egypt has never featured prominently in Egyptian historiography. Instead, it was studied as a Hellenistic state and as such was incorporated into studies of Hellenistic Greek states that developed after the death of Alexander the Great. As a result, Ptolemaic Egypt has always been perceived as a break in Egyptian history.

With this book, things are changing. Manning makes the case that Ptolemaic Egypt deserves to be studied in its own right and, more importantly, that we have to study it within the context of Egyptian, not Hellenistic history. Manning takes his readers on an engaging intellectual journey that brings them from earlier scholarly debates that presented Ptolemaic Egypt as the product of one major agency (whether it was the king, the state as economic actor, or the perceived Greek dominance), to his own interpretation: Ptolemaic Egypt was a complex pre-modern state, with “hybrid” mixtures of Egyptian and Greek political elements that led to a relatively successful Ptolemaic project. After all, the Ptolemaic dynasty was the longest lasting dynasty in Egyptian history (see the table on p. 67).

In his Introduction, Manning grounds his main claims in theoretical literature and within the context of Ptolemaic and historical scholarship more broadly. In addition, he discusses the primary sources (Greek and Egyptian papyri, inscriptions, and coinage) that he has at his disposal to deal with the questions at hand. Chapter 1 (“Egypt in the first millennium BC”) sets the stage and introduces the latter part of long-term Egyptian history that leads directly into the Ptolemaic period. It is here that we find the basis for the Ptolemaic state that warrants approaching it primarily as a continuation of Egyptian history.

The second chapter (“The historical understanding of the Ptolemaic state” treats previous scholarly views about the Ptolemaic state. With the help of three key words (despotism, dirigisme, and colonialism) Manning summarizes three of the main models for looking at Ptolemaic Egypt in previous scholarship. He maintains that, while all three played a role, they are insufficient for understanding the Ptolemaic state, because these models are based in a mistaken, overly Western conceptualization of Ptolemaic Egypt.

In Chapter 3 (“Moving beyond despotism, economic planning, and state banditry”), Manning presents his own theoretical concepts for examining the Ptolemaic state. Ptolemaic Egypt, he maintains, should above all be understood as a premodern state with all the theoretical implications involved. It was a “bureaucratic empire” (p. 55; terminology from. S. Eisenstadt, *The Political*

systems of Empires, 1993), geared toward maximization of revenue. Chapter 4 ("Shaping a new state") sets out what the Ptolemies had to do to make their political project successful. A key idea in this chapter is the bargaining that took place between the Ptolemaic rulers and the "constituent groups" (p. 74) of Ptolemaic society, namely the military, the Egyptian priests, the bureaucracy, and the Greek cities. This bargaining was continuous and a two-way process that was also at work in the economic and legal systems that are discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.

The fifth ("Creating a new economic order") and sixth ("Order and law") chapters outline the economic and legal institutions that the Ptolemies introduced and that kept the Ptolemaic state going. The fifth chapter thus focuses on the new fiscal institutions introduced by the Ptolemies such as banking and coinage, which were added to the Egyptian basis for the state project. This chapter also addresses the growth of the bureaucratic system that results from these new introductions and the increased use of writing. The sixth chapter details the various legal traditions that were at play in Ptolemaic Egypt, and how the Ptolemies tried to tap into these traditions in the attempt to negotiate their power with the constituent groups, who were all competing for legal rights.

Chapter 7 contains conclusions, and after it follows an Appendix that presents a translation of the famous Asyut trial. The translation is very much a work in progress, and this interesting text still has a lot more to offer. An extensive bibliography, subject index, and index of sources complete the book.

In sum, this book is a major contribution to the historiography of Ptolemaic Egypt. With it, the study of Ptolemaic Egypt is coming to full fruition.

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Sitta von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt: From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. xxii + 354 pages. ISBN 978-0-521-85264-7.

When Ptolemy I took possession of Egypt after the death of Alexander, the country was in for a dramatic change. The new Macedonian dynasty actively transformed the state according to its Greek ideology. One fundamental novelty was the introduction of coinage and hence the conversion of Egypt's traditional economy in kind to a monetary one. This change was implemented fairly aggressively by the Ptolemaic state and started as early as the reign of Ptolemy I, although documentation about this initial phase is patchy. In the 21st and 22nd year of Ptolemy II (264 BC) some serious reforms were introduced to the economy, especially with regard to the tax system.¹ For this second phase of economic reforms, there is much more papyrological evidence, mainly from the Zenon archive and the cartonnage papyri from the Fayyum.

In her monograph *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Sitta von Reden (henceforth R.) deals with this transformation of the economy in four main parts. In the first part (chapters 1-2), she focuses on the creation of a monetary economy in Egypt and the introduction of coinage. The type and design of coins under the first Ptolemies, as R. demonstrates, suggested the political cohesion of the country by combining elements of the traditional Egyptian ideology concerning the role of the king with Greek mythological concepts. Yet the dominance of Greek over Egyptian elements was in line with the establishment of a Hellenistic ruler cult for the Ptolemies.

In the second part (chapters 3-6) R. shows how the Ptolemies converted the non-monetary economy, based on landed property and taxes and rents in kind, into a monetary one. They brought huge quantities of coinage into circulation, a process which allowed them to levy certain taxes and rents in cash rather than in kind. Landed property remained a significant element of Egypt's economy, and taxes and rents in kind were not discontinued, but the use of cash for the poll tax and various taxes on crops helped monetize producers/tax payers already in the first half of the third century BC. Using cash to pay workmen's wages was, as R. explains, another tool for putting coinage into circulation. Again, wages in kind did not cease to exist, as bread was still given out as part of monthly payments (*sitometria*). Distributions of oil or beer, however, became rare and were replaced by cash payments.

¹ See e.g. B.P. Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes* (Chicago 2006) 7-9.

R. argues in the third part (chapters 7-10) that the transition to using cash for economic transactions was even more compelling in other commercial activities, such as transport and crafts, and large scale public works. Loans were introduced by the Greek immigrants and were frequently called upon to finance their activities. The credit-and-debt economy made possible larger and more complex financial transactions and helped overcome shortages of coinage, which are virtually inevitable in a nascent monetary system. Moreover, the use of credit required a fundamental change in the legal system as well. Loans of cash or commodities and pre-payments needed a new legal context that developed alongside the monetization of the economy. This process also took place in a relatively short period of time, and the pressure exerted by the central administration to monetize taxation more or less forced people to rapidly adapt to using coins. The Greek documentation in particular contains ample proof of a sophisticated and well-established legal and administrative infrastructure to cope with the ever-increasing demand for cash.

In the fourth part (chapters 11-12) R. concentrates on banks and how they controlled the cash flow between the state and local administrations. There is still much uncertainty about exactly how banks in the third century BC functioned, or what the difference was between royal and private banks, but papyri bear witness to the vital role they played in the collection of taxes and the financing of local administrations. As such, the importance of banks as credit institutions rested in the regulatory function that they exercised over the monetization process as a whole. The centralization of the Ptolemaic government and administration effectively managed to channel cash flow to and from local government representatives through the royal banks in the *chora*, which served as a cash reservoir.

Apart from being instruments of the administration, banks actively participated in private business. This is perhaps more common in modern economic life, and R. justly warns against an excessively modern approach to studying business banking in antiquity. The relationship between private businesses and banks is difficult to understand from the documents we have, but R. argues that the primary function of banks, both royal and private, was to increase the trustworthiness of money as a trading instrument. Rather than being a driving force behind economic innovation, banks had a stabilizing role. Banks and bankers' loans greatly facilitated the reach of money and thus of commercial transactions, since funds could be deposited safely, and written orders of payment made transactions over distance possible or at least easier.

R. concludes that the Ptolemaic royal court and the economic reforms that emerged in the third century BC were tightly intertwined. The Ptolemaic administration served as a framework for the development of a monetary

economy. Based on a Greek model, the new administration transformed the traditional economy of Egypt into a closed system that helped unify the country under its new rulers and, at least initially, generated rapid wealth for the Ptolemies.

The Ptolemaic state could not have succeeded without the economic reforms. R. convincingly describes the mechanisms behind this transformation. The wealth of sources discussed and the attention to numismatic and papyrological sources alike are particularly stimulating for the comprehensive and exhaustive interpretation that R. offers. Yet, the decision to limit this monograph to the third century tends to narrow down the documentation to particular subsets, such as the Fayyum papyri and especially the Zenon archive. While these papyri are often valuable for a study of this topic, the inherent bias in describing the economic reforms under the Ptolemies, which R. occasionally seems to pass over in silence, should be at the back of any reader's mind. In her attempt to offer a coherent explanation of all available sources, the author also discards some difficulties too easily; texts for which the interpretation is still a matter of discussion are sometimes coaxed to fit the ideology proposed throughout the book. An example is her interpretation of *P.Petrie* 2.13 (17), a text from the Kleon archive concerning the different elements of a high official's wages. The damaged text was discussed earlier by Reekmans,² who tried to figure out the puzzling references to amounts of money and credit in kind, admitting that in several points his understanding was merely hypothetical. R. follows Reekmans' arguments, but does not warn the readers against the uncertainty of some of his hypotheses.³ Any model-based approach, however, will eventually struggle with this problem, especially in a field of study where so much is still unclear because of a lack of evidence.

The many papyri documenting taxes, rents, loans, and banking activities can be dauntingly complicated for a non-specialist, and R. certainly offers a thorough survey of the available documentary and numismatic sources as well as a valuable attempt at a coherent interpretation of it all. The extensive bibliography and helpful indices make the book a useful guide for anyone interested in the topic in general or in a particular problem or text concerning the third-century economy. The information and interpretations that R. provides here will be a welcome reference to many historians, and her work

² T. Reekmans, "Le salaire de Cléon," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 20 (1970) 17-24

³ Reekmans' interpretation is otherwise flawed as well, e.g., in the discussion of the *agora*, a payment for which he misread the number 900 as 300 in *P.Petrie* 2.15 (2a-b), a key reference for the interpretation of *P.Petrie* 2.13 (17). R. copies the mistake, and thus her calculation of Kleon's wages is incorrect.

will spark the interest of scholars to further our knowledge of this period as well as subsequent periods of the Ptolemaic economy.

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Heinz Heinen, *Kleopatra-Studien. Gesammelte Schriften zur ausgehenden Ptolemäerzeit*. Xenia 49. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 2009. 364 pages. ISBN 978-3-87940-818-4.

New books on Cleopatra appear to be published at the rate of at least one a year. D.W. Roller, *Cleopatra: A Biography* (2009) and S. Schiff, *Cleopatra: A Life* (2010) are perhaps the most recent. The book under review, however, is different, since *Kleopatra-Studien* contains the republication of the 1966 Tübingen thesis of the distinguished Hellenistic historian Heinz Heinen on relations between Rome and Egypt in the reigns of Ptolemy XIII and Cleopatra VII covering the period 51-47 BC, accompanied by a series of studies on related themes that have been published over the years.

Some of these later studies concern Cleopatra only tangentially: the review of Sonnabend on the Roman view of Egypt and Parthia from *BiOr* 1990, an important study on the early ruler cult in Roman Egypt from *ANRW* 2.18.2 (1995), and the recent article on hunger and power, centered on the Canopus decree (*OGIS* 56) and the decree in honour of Kallimachos (*OGIS* 194) from *AncSoc* 2006. Others are more directly concerned with the queen: a piece on Caesar and Caesarion from *Historia* 1969, another on the name of Cleopatra's handmaid Eiras from *ZPE* 79 (1989), a masterly study from the *Festschrift* for Karl Christ of 1998 of a dedication to Cleopatra and Caesarion (in which Heinen demonstrates that the head within a *naos* illustrated on the stele is not Julius Caesar but rather Souchos as the crocodile god "with the beautiful face" [Pnepheros], who is also here named as *propator*), and a general piece on Cleopatra the queen as friend of the Roman people and of Caesar, from a 2007 exhibition catalogue.

The theme of friendship with Rome is further explored in the final, previously unpublished, paper on "Gefährliche Freundschaften: Verrat und Inversion des Klientelverhältnisses im spätptolemäischen Ägypten," which takes the story down to the death of Cleopatra from a very specific angle. Cleopatra, Heinen argues (pp. 316-318), was pursuing a Hellenistic dynastic policy through Roman means. After the Ides of March, Cleopatra hoped to integrate the deceased Roman dictator into the Ptolemaic ruler cult through his son Caesarion now named Philopator. With Antony the norms of patron-client relations were reversed, and the queen's constant aim (pp. 325-332) was to use *amicitia* with Rome to integrate herself as client queen within the Roman power structure. A list of important dates, a helpful set of indices (of papyri, inscriptions and ancient authors, together with a general index), and welcome plans of Alexandria and the eastern Mediterranean conclude the volume.

The publication of Heinen's 1966 thesis was an important event, as attested by the reviews listed on p. 336. The republication of earlier work in its original form, without any additional notes or bibliographical addenda (though these sometimes occur later on in the volume), is of historiographical as well as historical interest, inviting an assessment of the importance of the work for historians of the present generation. Heinen's Tübingen thesis, prepared under the supervision of Hermann Bengtson, is a detailed narrative and study of the events, and the evidence on which these depend, in a quite limited, but for Egypt extremely important, period from the death of Ptolemy Auletes until Caesar's departure for Rome, when Cleopatra and her younger brother Ptolemy XIV were established as joint rulers of Egypt.

In his sober discussion Heinen proceeds in a strictly chronological order, paying careful attention to the (sometimes conflicting) details of the sources, among which Lucan plays an unusually prominent role (see pp. 62-67, 184, and (later) 301-313, on the death of Pompey and surrounding events, and 168-169, on the birth of Caesarion). *Vollständigkeit* through *Quellenbelegen* and *Forschungsnachweisen* is how (p. 301, in another context) he terms his historical enterprise. He deftly seizes on disputed issues, often treating these by means of discussion and evaluation of the conflicting views of earlier historians (see, for example, pp. 73 on P.C. Sands, 87, 90, and 98 on P. Graindor, 139-145 on A. Piganiol's hypothesis that Pompey visited Egypt in 67 BC, and, more recently, 292f. on E. Gruen and Cleopatra's two short visits to Rome). This forms a historiographically striking aspect of the study, as the reader is regularly brought face to face with the views of earlier historians, such as A. Bouché-Leclercq (p. 58, n. 161, on Cleopatra and the Alexandrians) or J. Carcopino (pp. 98 on Arsinoe's flight to Achillas, 99 on Caesar's intentions in Alexandria, 154-175 on Caesarion as Antony's son).

There is an important lesson here: many of the issues which still trouble interpreters of the period have been identified and well analysed in the past. The rereading of older historical studies by past authors can be a rewarding activity, and in Heinen's work we are brought into contact with studies of the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century which have now often dropped from our view. Overall, in this careful study, we gain a clear narrative of political events; of struggles within the Ptolemaic court, with eunuchs and the army playing important roles; of the power of different factions, as of the *Gabiniani*, against a backdrop of Rome and her generals. We also gain a sense of the long-term development of a subject, in which Heinen too plays his own part. This is good political history, forming part of a long tradition.

At the same time, the reader needs to be aware of areas where the subject has moved and where points of detail have changed through the publication

of new evidence or new studies. So, for example, on the different double eras of Cleopatra (discussed on pp. 36-43, for the early years of her reign, with the listing of texts on pp. 150-151 as Appendix 3), see now M. Chauveau, "Ères nouvelles et coréances en Égypte ptolémaïque," *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (1997) 1:163-171. On the date of Caesarion's birth (pp. 154-175), see, as noted by Heinen on p. 292, n. 9, the discussion of the demotic stele from Saqqara (Louvre IM 8) in *Enchoria* 29 (2001) 41-61, where D. Devauchelle rereads the name earlier transcribed as Caesarion as Zoser, and also changes the date. It was already difficult to understand how workmen in the Memphite necropolis knew the very day that the prince was born, and this mysterious record should now be ignored in this context. Discussion of the cult names of Cleopatra and her brother (see Appendix 2, pp. 145-150) now needs to take account of the queen recorded as Kleopatra Thea Neotera Philopator kai Philopatris in *BGU* 14.2376.1 and 20 (36/5 BC).

What do we miss in terms of more recent historical trends? First, the limits of this volume need to be noted. This is *Kleopatra-Studien* rather than a book about the queen. The emphasis throughout is on relations with Rome. The extent of Egypt's decline and her economic problems are treated quite briefly (and optimistically) but form no more than a marginal part of Heinen's interest in the period (see p. 138, n. 531, or the discussion of hunger and need on p. 284). Our knowledge of the economy of Egypt has been much enhanced over the years by the publication of papyri and studies of inscriptions (for example, J. Bingen, "Les ordonnances royales C.Ord.Ptol. 75-76," *CdÉ* 70, 1995, 206-222, on the queen's rulings affecting landowners). Much of this work came too late for Heinen's original work but this aspect of Egypt's history has never been of central interest to this author. We thus find no mention in the final chapter, where it might have been relevant, of *P.Bingen* 45 (33 BC), with its record of large tax concessions made to an important Roman (whether this was Publius Canidius, as read by P. van Minnen in his challenging article in *AncSoc* 30, 2000, 29-34, in *APF* 47, 2001, 74-80, and in *Cleopatra Reassessed*, 2003, 35-44, or Q. Cascellius, as read by K. Zimmermann in *ZPE* 138, 2002, 133-139) or of the ensuing debate on how the bureaucracy functioned at the time.

Heinen's continuing interest is primarily with the position of Egypt and her rulers within the wider Mediterranean world now dominated by Rome. So in his final analysis concerning the misunderstandings of what it meant to be a Roman client (or rather a friend and ally of the Roman people) and how this role was interpreted by Cleopatra, his concern is still with the rulers of Egypt and Rome. The effect of these relations on Egypt as a whole is not really discussed in this volume. Nevertheless, the economic side of Egypt's condition was an essential backdrop to the politics of the time; a more thorough consid-

eration would have added a missing dimension. Passion and emotions are also, as is to be expected in a work of this kind, virtually absent; later portrayals and uses of the queen's image are irrelevant here.

A further silence which strikes the reader of today comes in the lack of literary evaluation of the Roman sources employed, whether it is [Caesar]'s *Alexandrian War*, Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, Cassius Dio or the much-quoted Lucan. What these authors recount and the emphases that are found in different contexts come devoid of any discussion (outside the footnotes) of their literary as opposed to their historical aims. Awareness and discussion of the literary aims of ancient authors represents a new dimension in historical writing, one that does not feature here.

At the same time new insights and approaches begin to find their place. Some demotic material is discussed and Heinen is especially strong in his careful analysis of epigraphical and visual material (e.g. pp. 231-245); on pp. 225-226, in the course of a particularly good and wide-ranging discussion of ruler cult, he grapples with the suggestion that as Apollo Augustus could have been incorporated into the Egyptian world-view as the sun given birth to by Nut. In his analysis of the Kallimachos decree, he rightly stresses the adaptation in Egypt of Greek political language and forms (pp. 284-286); the same holds for the Canopus and other priestly decrees.

In his preface Heinen expresses the hope that the broadening out and development of the historian's interests can be charted through the chronological ordering of the publications in this volume. This is certainly the case in terms of subject-matter, though many of his other important studies are of necessity excluded from a collection of *Kleopatra-Studien*. As with many historians, however, early approaches remain strong. While in later studies Heinen tends to quote the sources under discussion at length, with his argument forming a protracted commentary on the texts (as in "Hunger, Not und Macht" on the Canopus and Kallimachos decrees or, pp. 308-309, on Lucan's account from Pompey's death to the Alexandrian war), the strength of the dissertation – a well-balanced evaluation of the sources for the political history of the period – remains in his later work. It is interesting to reflect how often this is the case for historians. Some may experiment with passing fashions, while some remain tied to the well-ingrained practices of their youth. And, as in this case, the latter practice is not necessarily to be deplored.

There is much in these studies for a reader to learn and ponder on.

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Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, with an Appendix on the Pottery from Hawara by Sylvie Marchand. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009. xvii + 1110 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-2033-0.

Hawara as a volume is based on the author's 2003 Ph.D. thesis from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven under the supervision of Willy Clarysse. Much of the material presented here derives from her field research, especially the 2000 Hawara Survey which was part of the Historical Topography of the Fayum Project. The book is laid out in a straightforward manner. "Part 1: The Sources" is composed of four sections; archaeological items, literary texts, inscriptions, and papyri. The archaeological sources section includes past archaeological work at the site, a nice discussion on Fayum mummy portraits, the work of the Hawara 2000 survey, and a reconstruction of 90 grave contexts. The remaining three short sections provide a very brief synopsis of the written material related to or from Hawara itself.

"Part 2: The Living and the Dead" makes up the second part of the volume. After an introduction, it provides discussions on topography, administration, population, religious life, and economic activity within the village of Hawara. The remainder of the section provides analysis of the mortuary activities, especially burial practices, markers, and goods found in the tombs, as well as discussion of the tomb owners themselves, where known. The section finishes with a short item on the correlation between mummy portraits and actual burials.

After a short set of conclusions, there is a bibliography, five lengthy appendices, an index and 285 illustrations, all of which relate to the archaeological setting and the Hawara 2000 survey. Appendix 2 (pp. 685-813), written by S. Marchand (IFAO), is a complete analysis of the pottery finds at the site.

While the author provides a certain amount of material which may be of interest to readers of this journal, most of the volume details an interpretation of archaeological material. It confirms the well known notion that Hawara served as a mortuary center not only for local residents, but also for people from around the Fayum, and that the mortuary cults and their priesthoods may have been closely tied to the cult of Pramarres ("the Pharaoh Marres"). This makes sense given its location next to the Middle Kingdom pyramid which served as probable cult center. A close examination of Section 2 and Appendix 4 would be of most interest to papyrologists as these can be used to interpret the published documentation from the site. This reviewer notes that many of the analyses/compilations were also made in S. Pasek, *Hawara. Eine ägyptische Siedlung in hellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 2007), but I would presume that the au-

thor, who notes that book in the bibliography, had probably conducted much of her research before that volume appeared.

While the volume follows the high editorial standards of Peeters, there are a few typos (such as “Moiris” in a heading on p. 302, where elsewhere in the volume the standard “Moeris” is used, and the mis-spelling of this reviewer’s name on p. 303). The author is to be congratulated for being able to use both the archaeological remains and the papyrological material. It indicates a breadth of knowledge not often seen in such junior scholars.

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Eugene Cruz-Uribe

Gihane Zaki, *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte du III^e siècle avant J.-C. au VI^e siècle après J.-C. d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques des temples ptolémaïques et romains*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 13. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009. xviii + 468 pages + 23 plates. ISBN 978-2-503-52724-6.

In many Egyptian temples, scenes can be found with depictions of geographical content.¹ The most well-known of these scenes are processions with personifications of the nomes, but over time many variations of such “geographical processions,” as they are called in Egyptology, existed. The Graeco-Roman temples contain some of the most elaborate examples of this genre, in which life in the nome is symbolically rendered in four different parts. In her book *Le Premier Nome de Haute-Égypte*, a revised version of a doctoral dissertation defended at the Université de Lyon in 2000, Gihane Zaki (henceforth Z.) takes reliefs with geographical content as a point of departure for a wide-ranging study of the first Upper Egyptian nome in the Graeco-Roman period. In doing so Z. convincingly demonstrates that such scenes contain important details that can enhance our understanding of certain aspects of the nome, such as its cults, sacred topography, toponyms and administrative division.

The first chapter, also the first part of the book, contains a catalogue of 41 scenes from geographical processions in Graeco-Roman temples such as those of Dendara, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae that refer to the first Upper Egyptian nome. Added to these texts are a number of offering scenes that have a specific link to the nome or its deities, for a total of 62 texts. Z. not only brings these texts together for the first time, but she also offers a translation and copious notes for all of them.

The second part discusses, on the basis of this corpus of texts, aspects of the geography and theology of the first Upper Egyptian nome. Chapter two on the sacred topography of the nome is the most directly linked to the preceding catalogue. After a clear introduction on “geographical processions,” Z. continues with a detailed description of the different elements of such scenes, illustrated with numerous examples from the corpus under study, with specific attention to the terminology used in these texts. Chapter three contains a good summary of the theology of the nome and discusses several of the main cults and their interconnections, for example between Khnum and Osiris. The overview is not exhaustive, however, as it omits the important recent work by Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal on Khnum of Elephantine and the child god Osiris-

¹ I should like to thank my colleague Theodore de Bruyn for some improvements to the text.

Nesmeti, son of Khnum, also worshipped on this island.² Moreover, in her discussion of the toponym *Snmt* (227-229 and, again, 267-268), Z. does not refer to the important work by Josef Locher on the First Cataract region, which includes a detailed discussion of the toponym and argues that *Snmt* consisted of the modern islands of el-Hesa, Biga and, possibly, Awad.³

Chapter four contains a list of 24 temples from the Ombite nome from Kom Ombo to Maharraqa with basic information, such as location, date, and main cult, and a select bibliography for each temple. Z. collects an interesting set of data but, again, the references are often incomplete and the descriptions not always accurate. For example, about no. 2 on the list (261-262), the temple of Isis at Aswan, Z. remarks that the Meroitic king Ergamenes contributed to its decoration, but this is evidently a confusion with Philae, where Ergamenes (Arqamani) was active, as she herself remarks later on in the book (343).⁴ Z. also accepts the observation by Arnold that this temple would have been a bark station for Isis of Philae.⁵ Even if the same triad of Isis, Osiris, and Harpocrates was venerated in the Isis temple at Aswan as at Philae, the hieroglyphic reliefs from the temple at Aswan make no connection with this triad but rather with the one of Elephantine. Moreover, this connection does not necessarily mean that the latter triad had an actual cult in the Isis temple, as Z. claims. Again, a reference to a recent study by Laskowska-Kusztal on the theology of this temple and to Locher's work would have been appropriate here.⁶ For the temple of Domitian at Aswan (no. 3, 262-263), Z. does include a reference to the latter work, but fails to take into account the good grounds mentioned there for considering Khnum as main god of this temple.⁷ One also wonders what criteria have been used to compile the list and why, for example, the well-studied

² E. Laskowska-Kusztal, "Osiris-Nesmeti – Child from Elephantine", in G. Dreyer et al., "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 31. und 32. Grabungsbericht", *MDAIK* 61 (2005) 13-138 at 75-82; idem, "Le Khnoum d'Éléphantine. Quelques pas en avant pour mieux connaître sa personnalité," in E.-M. Engel, V. Müller, and U. Hartung (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden 2008) 453-462.

³ J. Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1999) 159-165.

⁴ G. Haeny, "A Short Architectural History of Philae," *BIFAO* 85 (1985) 197-233 at 220.

⁵ D. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs* (New York-Oxford 1999) 171.

⁶ E. Laskowska-Kusztal, "L'Isis d'Assouan et l'armée," *ET* 21 (2007) 56-68; Locher (n. 3) 87-89. The temple theology is also treated in the general introduction of J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (Darmstadt forthcoming).

⁷ Locher (n. 3) 67-68.

blocks of the so-called “Temple Y” of Elephantine, a Roman temple dedicated to Osiris-Nesmeti, have been excluded.⁸

Part three, finally, walks the reader through “grandes étapes de l’histoire” of the first Upper Egyptian nome, basically from its inception in the Old Kingdom to the Arab conquest. This is the least satisfying part of the book since there is no explanation of why it has been included or what the hieroglyphic reliefs Z. has studied can contribute to this topic. The overviews of historical periods are also too sweeping and do not give a balanced overview of the scholarship on these periods. After a very brief overview of the history of the nome before the Graeco-Roman period (chapter five), the next two chapters cover the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Once again an engagement with the work by Locher is dearly missed. As Z. is well aware, there is much discussion among scholars about the extent of Ptolemaic rule beyond the First Cataract region. Although it is hard to follow what her opinion is in this matter, she seems to suggest that the Triakontoschoinos — the region that she takes to be from Aswan to Qasr Ibrim (e.g. 344) — was in Ptolemaic hands in the second century but was lost towards the end of that century; she even thinks that Ptolemaic influence over the area up to Maharraqa (the Dodekaschoinos) gradually waned in the first century (344, 356-357, 359-360). This disregards the reconstruction by Locher who takes the Triakontaschoinos to extend to the Second Cataract (at Buhen) and argues that this area was mostly under Ptolemaic rule throughout the period.⁹ Similarly, the Roman conflicts with Meroe over this area in the 20s BCE, resulting in the fixture of the frontier at Maharraqa in 21/20 BCE (370-373), lacks a proper assessment of Locher’s detailed study of these events.¹⁰

At the end of chapter seven Z. briefly treats the history of the nome until the Arab conquest (382-388). Elsewhere, she has already written in more detail on this topic, in which she has also usefully collected the later Arabic sources on Philae.¹¹ For the summary included in this book she has unfortunately not

⁸ On “Temple Y” see, in general, E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Elephantine XV: Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine* (Mainz 1996) 21-25, and “Osiris-Nesmeti” (n. 2).

⁹ Locher (n. 3) 252-255.

¹⁰ Locher (n. 3) 254-256, elaborated in “Die Anfänge der römischen Herrschaft in Nubien und der Konflikt zwischen Rom und Meroe,” *AncSoc* 32 (2002) 73-133.

¹¹ G. Zaki, “L’île de Philae, entre gloire et abandon. D’après les textes Ptolémaïques, romains et les extraits des récits des chroniqueurs arabes,” in J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists/Actes du neuvième congrès international des Égyptologues* (Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004) (Leuven 2007) 2:1985-2004.

been able to take into account my recent study of the religious transformation of the First Cataract region in Late Antiquity, which diverges in many points from her description.¹²

Apart from missing, or not profiting from, some important secondary literature, this book contains a surprising number of typos and inconsistencies.¹³ It is a pity that the text has not been edited properly, as this often distracts the reader. More important, however, is the lack of focus in the book. Z. is right that the hieroglyphic texts she collects are an important source of information for our knowledge of the first Upper Egyptian nome and she begins admirably by applying this knowledge in chapters two and three. Thereafter, however, the book wanders off and it remains unclear how the texts presented in the first chapter can be related to the latter part of the book. Perhaps a stricter adherence to a central research question would have given the book more focus.

In sum, this book is important for its collection of hieroglyphic texts relating to the first Upper Egyptian nome and shows how these texts can be relevant to several aspects of the nome, but does not fulfil its promise of offering a reference work for the nome in the Graeco-Roman period.

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¹² J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven 2008). For example, she infers from my re-edition of the papyrus text *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67004 ("A Cult of Isis at Philae after Justinian? Reconsidering *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004," *ZPE* 146 (2004) 137-154) that the Isis cult at Philae would have continued until ca. 567 CE (not 565-573). In this article, I merely suggested that the papyrus might indicate a continuing attraction of the site to Blemmyan groups at this time, but I left it open how we have to imagine this involvement. In fact, in *Philae and the End*, 217-218, 314-315 I have argued, on the basis of the fourth- and fifth-century demotic and Greek inscriptions from the island, that the incident of ca. 567 CE could not have meant a reinstatement of the cult of Isis to its former glory.

¹³ For an inconsistency, see, e.g., p. 270 where she places the Kiosk on Philae in the reign of Trajan, whereas elsewhere (e.g., p. 258) she, correctly, places it under Augustus.

Leslie S.B. MacCoull. *Coptic Legal Documents: Law as Vernacular Text and Experience in Late Antique Egypt*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 377 = Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 38. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Turnhout: Brepols, 2009. xxxiv + 214 pages. ISBN 978-0-86698-425-6.

This volume presents annotated English translations of fifty Coptic legal documents, which span the years 569-772. After a brief introduction to the genre and some socio-historical observations, MacCoull provides for each document a thorough accounting of date, place, parties, object, sum (if any), witnesses, scribe, and previous bibliography. She introduces each document with a summary of contents and, when relevant, connects it to other documents involving the same people or similar issues. MacCoull has decided not to group the documents thematically because she wants to take the reader "on a tour of the culture and the persons that produced them." The chronological presentation allows one easily to see "the process of continuity-plus-change through time" and also to follow the fortunes and misfortunes of particular people and families.

Some readers might be confused (as I was) upon first skimming the collection, because there is hardly any Coptic script used in the text, nor are there plates of the Coptic originals in the back. The annotations consist primarily of Greek loanwords, references to other similar documents, or interaction with secondary sources. The reasons for the lack of Coptic are good ones, however. First, the Coptic legal vocabulary seems to have been populated by Greek words to a greater degree than other Coptic was. More importantly, MacCoull has aimed for rigorous consistency in translation of legal terms, and she supplies a trilingual glossary at the end for readers who are looking for Greek/Coptic terms and do not want to consult another source. The end result is a smooth English rendering of representative documents spanning over two centuries. Taken together they show how the "codified law of the Christian Roman empire was engaged with by living people in their everyday transactions, and how there was continuity even when a transformed Egypt became subject no longer to that empire but to the rule of the Islamic caliphate." Scholars will do well to use this book, coupled with the work of T.S. Richter, to gain a thorough understanding of a fascinating corpus of texts.¹

¹ T.S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden* (2nd ed., Wiesbaden 2008); idem, "Coptic Legal Documents, With Special Reference to the Theban Area,"

MacCoull's efficient introductory chapter brings the reader up to speed on methodological shifts in the study of legal documentary papyri, especially the shift in focus from "government agency" and "the law as it was dictated to be" to "what we see individual agents actually doing" and law as a set of social practices. She explains the various "worlds we come to see" through the documents, which include transactions between laypeople and monks, problems with dowries, property transfers, inheritance testaments and settlements, and more. These worlds are rather limited in topography, since the documents come from the "regionally concentrated areas" of Aphrodito in Middle Egypt and Jeme in Upper Egypt. Extrapolation from limited data is always in danger of error, MacCoull admits, and yet it is also "what papyrologists do."

Several documents reveal a glimpse into religious matters. For example, MacCoull groups three texts describing "donation of oblates" (two donations of children [*P.KRU* 78 and 88] and one adult self-oblation [*P.KRU* 104]) and flags them as ready for in-depth study by "a younger scholar well versed in the currently fashionable matters of gender and property."² Another document (*P.CLT* 5) allows MacCoull to reconstruct a complex dispute between the two main monasteries of Jeme regarding a sum of "fifty [solidi?]" that were found "in a small ceramic vessel." During the ensuing dispute, documents were "used as weapons in the conflict; they are torn up and pieced back together, hidden and sought for; the intentions and mental states of their past framers (many are deceased) are called into question."

On a different matter pertaining to religion, the book's chronological presentation enables the reader clearly to see both the continuity and change that corresponded to Muslim rule in Egypt. One Christian party involved in the transaction of *P.KRU* 25 chose to take recourse to a Muslim official in order to get a favorable ruling, just as some frustrated Christians had sought out non-Christian judges in mid-first-century Corinth, despite Paul's protestations (cf. 1 Corinthians 6). Then a striking example of both continuity and change comes in *P.KRU* 38 (26 February 738), an inheritance settlement which retains traces

in *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt, Volume 2: Nag Hammadi-Esna*, ed. Gawdat Gabra and Hany Takla (Cairo 2010) 121-41.

² She has in mind at least the following: A. Papaconstantinou, "Notes sur les actes de donation d'enfant au monastère thébain de Saint-Phoibammon," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002) 83-105; eadem, "Θεία οίκονομία: les actes thébains de donation d'enfants ou la gestion monastique de la pénurie," *Travaux et mémoires* 14 (2002) 511-526; T. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2002) e.g. 73-74, 99-104; and T.S. Richter, "What's in a Story? Cultural Narratology and Coptic Child Donation Documents," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 35 (2005) 237-264.

of a Greek-language version of the Bismillah protocol (“in the name [of God] the compassionate, [the merciful]; there is no God [but God alone;] Muhammad [is the messenger of God],” but then begins the document formally with a standard Christian invocation (“+ In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, consubstantial Trinity”). The document literally manifests the fuzzy borders of a changing religious culture.

Many of the matters glimpsed through the documents concern daily life and strife among family and neighbors, and some of the issues are timeless. MacCoull’s introductions to individual documents occasionally point out pearls of wisdom: it is a bad idea to build an addition to family property that “inconveniences your relatives” (*P.KRU* 35). She further aphorizes, “Neighbors plus adjoining walls equal legal trouble throughout history” (*P.KRU* 51). The document *P.KRU* 36 may even remind readers of their own litigious societies: “It would seem that oaths not to sue one another—even oaths sworn in church with the ‘Great Men’ of the town monitoring—did not have a very long-lasting effect among the people of Jeme.” Apparently no amount of oath-taking matters when a good lawsuit is available.

In conclusion, I would note a pleasant surprise. MacCoull’s portrayals of these documents, especially the family dynamics, are often fun to read – as are some of the documents themselves. She invites us several times to “eavesdrop on a really gripping family drama.” One poor man bears the brunt of MacCoull’s characterization: a certain “George” is described variously in different parts of the book as “feckless” or “never-satisfied” or the “hapless black sheep of the family.” All in all, the book combines top-notch scholarship, honed over decades of study, with a keen social insight and a felicitous style. It serves as a reminder that documentary papyri offer one of the best ways to get a feel for the people of the ancient world.

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